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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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12 August 1985

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ARMS CONTROL

SOVIET WEEKLY ASSAILS REAGAN POLICY ON SALT II COMPLIANCE

PM051820 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 26, Jun 85 pp 6-8

[Article by Vladlen Kuznetsov: "The White House and SALT"]

[Text] The White House has defined its policy in regard to the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2). It will be recalled that this treaty, signed in 1979, sets limits to ballistic missiles and a ceiling on the escalation of rivalry in the field of strategic armaments. It has not been ratified by the United States and therefore has not entered into force. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed to abide by its provisions on a reciprocal basis.

The signs are, however, that the present U.S. administration, which has set its sights on gaining military superiority over the U.S.S.R., is finding it burdensome to adhere to the treaty. It is regarded as an impediment to the realization of militaristic programmes. This is evident from the special statement made by President Reagan on 10 June and his letter to Congressional leaders.

The present administration has been steering this course for the past several years. When he still was a presidential contender, Ronald Reagan spoke of "the fatal flaw of SALT-2." And during his European tour in May this year, he declared that "there is no need for us to continue the treaty."

The official public disavowal by Washington of the SALT-2 Treaty was a logical follow-up. The document, press commentators with access to confidential information wrote, had one foot in the grave. But then a miracle happened. The president did not scrap the treaty and even tried to pose as the saviour and guarantor of the observance of this agreement with a "fatal flaw." More, in order to demonstrate his fidelity to it, Reagan decided to sacrifice an obsolete Poseidon submarine when the seventh up-to-date nuclear submarine Trident armed with intercontinental ballistic missiles is commissioned this coming autumn. (The 14 missiles of the Trident, which exceed the SALT-2 limit on nuclear missiles with multiple warheads, served as the formal reason for the presidential statement.)

Why did the President with all his toughness and proclivity to headlong action not venture publicly to tear up the treaty he was so fed up with? There were a good many reasons.

The most important consideration was the possible countermeasures of the U.S.S.R. Washington likes to boast of being able to tie up the Soviet Union into knots in the arms race. But that is for the benefit of the public. Actually Washington cannot but be aware of the Soviet Union's unswerving determination not to allow the U.S. to gain military superiority. It cannot but realize that the nuclear bludgeon the Pentagon is out to build up steadily so as to keep the whole world in subjugation could very well backfire.

There is no mention in the presidential statement of his favourite creation--the "strategic defence initiative," a programme for the development of space strike weapons. The omission is not accidental. For it is precisely this programme, its future and effectiveness, that the incumbent of the White House had in mind in deciding what to do about the SALT-2 Treaty. The thought of winning by giving the Pentagon war machine free rein is of course tempting, but then there is also the chance of losing if limitations binding also on others are jettisoned. The purpose of the development of a largescale and, as is hoped in the United States, highly effective anti-missile defence system with elements of basing in outer space is to deprive the Soviet Union of counterstrike capacity, to negate the deployment by it, as a forced reply to the "Star Wars" programme, of strategic offensive armaments. Would not the power of the Soviet counterstrike grow if the SALT-2 Treaty were scuttled and hence would it not be better to formally observe it while emasculating it in practice? This is what is on Washington's mind.

Let Washington not delude itself into believing that this "ruse, designed primarily to allow Reagan to continue developing new missile defences," as Robert Kaiser put it in a WASHINGTON POST article, will mislead anyone.

It has been realized in the President's entourage that discarding of the SALT-2 Treaty would not help to overcome the resistance of the United States' NATO allies to involvement in the militarization of outer space. The latter no doubt have not forgotten that they were deceived by Washington once before, in 1979, when it promised to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty if the West European countries agreed to the deployment of their territory of the Pentagon's new medium-range nuclear missiles. Not all the West European NATO countries are inclined to see the U.S. administration's behaviour in international affairs and in the sphere of security policy as a model of wisdom. This was made plain to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz at the NATO Council session in Estoril near Lisbon. "SALT-2 and the ABM treaty should be observed," West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said, "inasmuch as they are an important element of stability and to a considerable extent will determine the development of East-West relations and the course of the Geneva talks." British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe declared point-blank that it was necessary to strengthen arms control and not weaken it. The Americans,

he said, should not annul the SALT-2 Treaty. The United States' NATO partners warned their leader that if it cancelled out that treaty, faith in its policy on arms limitation and in its position at the Geneva talks could be shaken.

Shultz promptly informed the White House of the partners' mood, which no doubt was taken into consideration. Account was taken of both the undesirability of new friction in NATO and the possibility of a new eruption of anti-American sentiment and an upswing in the anti-nuclear movement at a time when Washington is trying to palm off Reagan's "strategic defence initiative" on its allies and, specifically, its medium-range nuclear missiles on Holland.

The administration also has to reckon with the mood at home. The American fighters for peace are continuing to strip the President of the laurels of a peacemaker. Many scientists are in revolt against the "strategic defence initiative." The going has become harder for the administration on Capitol Hill, what with the Senate voting 90 to 5 for a resolution calling on the government to abide by the SALT-2 Treaty and 29 Representatives sending a letter with the same demand to Reagan. And this at a time when the President is anxious to wind up his term of office with a claim to a "place in history," moreover, as a devotee of peace.

The above-mentioned presidential statement maintains that "the United States has not taken an action which would undercut existing arms control agreements." Is this really so?

By refusing to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty, Washington in effect scuttled it in defiance of world public opinion, which gave it a high evaluation and hoped that its entry into force would pave the way to other effective agreements that would help to curb the nuclear arms buildup.

A gross violation of the SALT-2 Treaty was the deployment of the new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, where they automatically become strategic first-strike weapons in relation to the U.S.S.R. By this move Washington showed how it regards its commitments in the matter of limiting offensive nuclear armaments. It also violates agreed provisions by engaging in the buildup and modernization of the nuclear missiles of some other NATO countries, both by transferring such weapons or their components to them and by providing technological information.

The U.S. ruling quarters have discarded the Protocol to the SALT-2 Treaty under which long-range cruise missiles of all basing modes were subject to limitation, if not prohibition. As a result a new highly dangerous class of strategic weapons has made its appearance.

In an effort to upset the strategic parity regarded in the SALT-2 treaty and to gain military preponderance, the White House put forward its "Star Wars" program which calls for the buildup of offensive strategic arms parallel with space strike weapons.

From the very outset all the activity of the Reagan Administration has in effect been directed not at observance of its commitments under agreements with the U.S.S.R., as the President now claims, but at their emasculation. In October 1981 Reagan launched his programme for the "rearmament of America"--the buildup and modernization of all components of the strategic triad (bombers, submarines, and land-based weapons). In March 1983 he announced the development of a large-scale ABM system with elements of basing in outer space (the "Star Wars" programme), thereby demonstrating his intention to break the previously recognized connection between offensive and defensive strategic armaments, a move fraught with the threat of unbridled buildup of both. In May 1983 Reagan obtained Congressional consent to the accelerated development of the new MX strategic missiles. In this connection the Soviet Government stressed in its statement of 28 May 1983, that the U.S.S.R. was faced with the need to take counter-measures to strengthen its defence capability, including the deployment of new strategic systems.

Now Washington, in violation of one of the key provisions of the SALT-2 Treaty, is going ahead with the development, alongside the MX, of still another qualitatively new first-strike nuclear weapons system--the strategic missile Midgetman.

Such is the bill the Soviet Union, and not only the Soviet Union, has to present to those who are stubbornly refusing to live up to their international commitments.

Not only SALT-2 has been made the target for attack by the opponents of arms limitation. For several years now the United States has been pursuing a policy of undermining the 1972 treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic missile systems which was concluded without any time limit. Yet it is a document of the utmost importance which made possible the conclusion of the 1972 interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, and also of the SALT-2 Treaty. The ABM treaty prohibits the creation of large-scale (countrywide) anti-missile systems. Yet it is precisely such a system that the White House intends to create, moreover, one with elements of basing in outer space.

Besides this Washington declines to ratify the 1974 treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests. Why? Because the 150-kiloton ceiling set by this agreement is no longer enough for the Pentagon. Washington is also dragging out the ratification of the 1976 treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes.

Thus three treaties on the limitation of nuclear armaments signed by three U.S. presidents have not been ratified by the Senate. Does this not show what is the real attitude of the U.S. ruling quarters to arms limitation and reduction? Such an obstructionist policy cannot be concealed either by promises to make nuclear weapons powerless and obsolete or by groundless accusations of non-observance of treaties by the Soviet Union.

Who are not interested in the scrupulous observance of treaties, in making them a reliable obstacle in the way of the avalanche of armaments? Only those who have set their sights on escalating the arms race on earth and carrying it over to outer space.

Instead of discontinuing the practice of violating the commitments it has undertaken, official Washington levels accusations at others. For instance, in January last year and February this year reports were compiled on supposed violations of treaties by the Soviet Union. What these concoctions were worth was unwittingly revealed by none other than U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director Kenneth Adelman. At a hearing of the Senate armed services committee in February he said that "our security has not yet suffered because of Soviet non-compliance." How does this tally with the panicky outcries, about "windows of vulnerability" and about the U.S.S.R. having gone a long way ahead in an unparalleled buildup?

In his 10 June statement the U.S. president too invoked the simple expedient of shifting the blame from where it belongs to where it does not. Take if only the contention that the U.S.S.R. has acquired a second new type of intercontinental ballistic missile--the SS-25. Actually, the supposedly new missile is the old SS-13, which is being modernized in strict conformity with the SALT-2 Treaty.

Why these smears? In order to claim the "right" to retaliate. To vindicate the policy of undermining everything positive that was achieved in the sphere of security by the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States in the seventies.

The President declared it was his intention to help create an atmosphere of "truly mutual restraint." With truly pharisaical hypocrisy he spoke of "giving the Soviet Union the opportunity to join us in the endeavour," giving it "additional time" to change its behaviour so as to suit the White House. What magnanimity, what courtesy! And only after that will the President decide what marks to give the U.S.S.R. for behaviour, only then will he "make a final determination on the U.S. course of action."

As if the question remained open. As if Washington still had not made up its mind whether to observe or not to observe the SALT-2 Treaty. In reality, further violations and the final scrapping of the treaty has in effect been programmed. The President has instructed the Pentagon to complete the elaboration of "countermeasures" by November. What "countermeasures"? "The Pentagon," THE NEW YORK TIMES says, "comes away with ample authority to plan for more significant treaty breakouts: for testing Midgetman missiles as supplement rather than replacement for the MX, and also exotic technologies that jeopardize the most significant of all arms agreements, the ABM Treaty forbidding significant missile defence."

This tells the whole story. Yet Washington still strikes the pose of the misunderstood and the injured. Moscow, the argument goes, does not appreciate the President's peace-loving and magnanimous decision. What did they expect from us--applause and compliments?

The TASS statement of 11 June gives an exhaustive, objective assessment of the actions and intentions of the White House. The United States is gradually easing itself out of the treaty by rejecting the limitations it provides for one after another. The U.S. administration has clearly decided to go on breaking up the system of treaties aimed at checking the nuclear arms race.

Thus, Washington's disappointment is clearly feigned. It is the Soviet Union that has reason to be disappointed, more, to lose all faith in the present U.S. administration. With the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations a common language was found on the decisive issues of war and peace. The present administration alone has deliberately and persistently evaded a search for mutually acceptable understandings with the Soviet Union in the sphere of security.

World opinion is greatly alarmed by the fact that the United States proposes completely to free itself of its commitments under the SALT-2 Treaty. There is every reason for this alarm. First, if the last barriers to the escalation of rivalry in the field of strategic armaments are removed new impetus will be given to the nuclear race. Second, the chances of arriving at an understanding at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva will be seriously undermined. Third, the entire process of nuclear arms limitation and reduction could be placed in jeopardy. "It would be madness to give up the SALT restraints," Albert Gore Jr observes in an article in THE WASHINGTON POST. This conclusion, which the White House would do well to ponder, is shared by many the world over.

CSO: 5200/1065



WORLDWIDE TOPICS

IZVESTIYA COMMENTARY ON UN CHARTER ANNIVERSARY

PM261100 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by P. Vladimirskiy: "A Charter of Peaceful Coexistence. On the 40th Anniversary of the Signing of the UN Charter"]

[Text] It was 40 years ago, on 26 June 1945, that the UN charter was signed at the San Francisco interallied conference--a most important international treaty whose main objective is formulated precisely and clearly: "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." An era of international development whose starting point is the peoples' victory over fascism and which stretches into the future spans the period between the solemn ceremony of the signing of this document, which has become a main pillar of modern law and order the world, and the present.

The opening of the San Francisco conference coincided with the meeting of USSR and U.S. allied troops on the Elbe. This emphasizes better than anything the fact that the UN charter was forged jointly by the allies in the fires of battle that this process was not hindered by differences in social systems or ideologies. The need to unite for the sake of restoring and defending peace was a harsh lesson of war learned through the people's sufferings. The ruling circles of western powers were forced to take this into account. Their most farsighted representatives took the path of cooperation with the Soviet Union in defining the postwar world's foundations in interallied accords, from the 1943 Moscow declaration on world security through Potsdam.

The initiative to create the United Nations and vast credit for the elaboration of its charter were the Soviet Union's. Having advanced at the very start of the war the idea, expressed way back by V.I. Lenin, of founding an international security organization with equal participation by states large and small, socialist and capitalist, Soviet diplomacy firmly and consistently implemented this idea. Bearing in mind the well known hesitations and inconsistency of our partners, the success in this far from simple work was the direct consequence of the Soviet people's accomplishments in the Great Patriotic War, which were of decisive significance for the victory of the United Nations, as the member states of the anti-Hitler coalition started styling themselves.



The historic significance of the UN charter not only has not diminished but has actually become even greater since the time when Soviet delegation head A.A. Gromyko and the heads of the delegations represented at the San Francisco conference appended their signatures to this historic document. This is because the charter is a true charter of peaceful coexistence enshrining in the language of international law the obligation of states, regardless of their size or social system, to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbors"; in other words, it essentially embodies the Leninist concept of "peaceful cohabitation" of states and of cooperation between them in shaping fair and democratic world. The charter requires states to unconditionally observe such principles of peaceful coexistence as the nonuse of force, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for one another's sovereignty and equality, recognition of peoples' right to self-determination, and strict observance of international obligations.

Throughout the entire existence of the United Nations, from the very moment of its foundation, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries have consistently sought to make a practical contribution to attaining the goals enshrined in the organization's charter. There has been no session of the main UN organs at which the Soviet Union and the socialist countries have not submitted specific proposals devoted to vital questions of the present time and aimed at making the world safer and fairer.

The nonaligned countries, which now constitute the majority of this organization's members, are another important positive factor in the United Nations' activity. Their stance as a whole is distinguished by commitment to the goals and principles of the UN charter and by a desire to secure their implementation. Sober voices are heard increasingly often from the UN rostrum from representatives of some developed capitalist countries too, not only nonaligned and neutral ones but also individual NATO bloc members.

The experience of postwar development has shown that whenever states have adhered to the provisions of the UN charter in bilateral relations and in their policies as a whole, this has had a favorable effect on the entire development of international life and on the United Nations' activity as a world security organization.

During the years of the switch to detente the United Nations was instrumental in the conclusion of a number of international agreements which materially limited the race in nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons and prohibited its extension to space. These include such highly important documents as the treaties on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests on land, in the atmosphere, and under water, on the nonproliferation of these weapons, and on the principles governing the activity of states in space. The United Nations helped extinguish hotbeds of armed conflicts, particularly in the Near East and Cyprus. The United Nations made a great contribution to helping to eliminate colonial empires in accordance with the charter and the historical declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted 25 years ago at the USSR's initiative.

Detente helped to revive the new style of joint work by states envisaged when the United Nations was founded, which presupposes equal, correct, and truly civilized interstate relations based on true respect for the charter's principles. Such a style rules out methods of diktat and blackmail and of political or economic pressure, does not differentiate between large and small states, and creates a healthy climate for all countries to participate in the solution of the most important questions of war and peace and in equal and mutually advantageous international cooperation.

All this was embodied in a concentrated form in the final act of the all-European conference, which was an important landmark on the path toward attaining the objectives of the UN charter. It is therefore understandable why the United Nations has on many occasions spoken out in support of the all-European process and its continuation and development. Life itself also poses the question of a common, comprehensive approach toward the problem of security in Asia, of pooling the efforts of Asian states in that direction. Here, as in Europe and the other continents, the UN charter is a true compass reliably indicating the road of peace.

The vitality and attractiveness of the charter are also shown by the fact that throughout its existence the United Nations has been augmented by new members. As a result of that, the United Nations now is not only a unique but also the most universal international organization. Its membership has risen from 51 to 159 states.

On the whole, the UN charter is reliably "working" to strengthen realism and responsibility in international affairs; it has stood the test of time and has proved its viability under the conditions of a rapidly changing world. The gigantic shifts that have occurred in the social, political, scientific, technical, and economic spheres since the signing of the charter only confirm the correctness of the concept of peaceful coexistence that it embodies and make its implementation the sole sensible alternative for mankind.

Indeed, while World War II took over 50 million lives, a world thermonuclear conflict in our age threatens to turn the planet into a lifeless desert. Nevertheless, aggressive imperialist circles, ignoring the realities of the nuclear and space age, continue to gamble on strength, on the buildup of nuclear arms, and on their first use. Pursuing the dream of military superiority, they have decided to extend the arms race into earth orbit, thus making it even more ruinous and giving it truly astronomical scope in all directions. As a result of the militarist policy of the United States and its military-political allies, the threat of nuclear war is growing, the arms burden is becoming heavier, and efforts and means are being diverted from the objective set by the UN charter of helping the economic and social progress of all peoples.

Now the main factor for implementing the UN charter is to secure an end to the arms race and to prevent it from spreading to space. The United Nations can and must make its contribution to the solution of this task.

The UN charter indicates the correct way to preserve peace under the conditions of the nuclear and space age: collective efforts to ensure security for all with the minimum armaments. The disarmament principle was enshrined in the charter thanks to Soviet diplomacy's insistence. It is highly indicative that the very first resolution of the UN General Assembly's first session set the task of "excluding atomic weapons from national armories."

Attempts to ensure security for one country at the expense of the security of others are incompatible with the concept of collective security defined in the UN charter. The UN charter is altogether the opposite of the desire for military superiority and hegemony, the "position-of-strength" policy, "crusades," and attempts from outside to impose on peoples orders that are alien to them. Seeking to ensure its implementation, over the last few years the United Nations has adopted, at our country's initiative, declarations on the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and on condemnation of nuclear war and resolutions in favor of the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons by all nuclear powers following the USSR's example, on the freezing and subsequent reduction and elimination of nuclear weapon arsenals and the prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests, on the prevention of an arms race in space and its restriction at sea, on the impermissibility of a policy of state terrorism, and on the reorganization of international economic relations on a fair basis. These UN decisions express the imperative of the times and accord with the actions of the antiwar movement, which has literally swept the planet.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have repeatedly expressed a readiness to reach agreement on implementing these decisions with all the states directly concerned. If this were successfully achieved, the peaceful life of present and succeeding generations would be reliably guaranteed and the United Nations' prestige would be raised to unprecedented heights.

But the development of positive processes in the world is hindered by the unwillingness of imperialist forces to bring their policies in line with the UN charter. This is the main cause of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the United Nations' objectives, principles, and useful decisions.

The United Nations' very existence and its positive activity are an expression of the fact that all peoples desire peace and progress and none of them wants war. Today, just as 40 years ago, their cohesion and resolve are capable of curbing those forces which are pushing mankind into the abyss. The will of the peoples led to the elaboration of the UN charter, and it can and must guarantee its implementation for the sake of life itself. There are no, and there can be no onlookers here.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "being a convinced opponent of the solution of disputed international questions by force, it has always attached and continues to attach great importance to the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace and is prepared to take new steps to ensure that the fair and democratic principles on which the United Nations was founded 40 years ago are firmly established in the practice of international relations."

CSO: 1807/384

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

BRIEFS

ARBATOV ADDRESSES DIPLOMATS--A meeting was held in Moscow today between heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union and Academician Arbatov, deputy chairman of the USSR United Nations Association, and Petrovskiy, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The meeting was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter. It was noted that ever since the creation of the United Nations the Soviet Union has been a consistent advocate of the implementation of the lofty goals and principles of the UN charter, and has made a constructive contribution to the activity of the organization. [video cuts between shots of Arbatov speaking and audience] [Text] [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 85]

CSO: 1807/384

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### PEACE MOVEMENT SHOULD NOT SEEK TO 'LIBERATE' EAST EUROPE

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 6, Jun 85 pp 18-23

[Article by Miclos Racz, vice-president of the Dutch Committee for European Security and Cooperation]

[Text] The mass protest movement against nuclear armaments developed in Western Europe, the Netherlands, in particular, at the end of the 70s and which is now spiraling is commonly called "the new peace movement". We will mention here two distinctive features of this movement.

1. It embraces much more political and ideological trends, social strata and public organizations than ever before.

2. The present peace movement was able to gain substantial successes only because it concentrated its efforts for concrete aims which became, in fact, the common denominator for mobilizing masses in the society that is quite heterogeneous politically.

That common denominator was found in the course of the struggle against the arms race, nuclear weapons, first of all. It was not difficult to see our common interest in halting and then liquidating that mad process—irrespective of any possible differences in approaching the problem of the construction of the better, more just and more humane society.

People can see more distinctly and clearly the interconnection of human

fates here in the Netherlands, in Western Europe and the world over. The liquidation of nuclear weapons is not a personal interest—the whole humanity is interested in it. And that universal character of nuclear threat could mobilize millions upon millions of people in the West and in the East, in the North and the South, on the whole earth.

The Dutch peace movement owes its successes also to the fact that common threat was taken by millions of individuals as a personal threat. The successes achieved are rather significant, nevertheless, they don't have a decisive character. The arms race is still not stopped and the deployment of nuclear weapons threatens our country as well. Under that situation it is vital to concentrate all forces for common actions to compel the parliament and the government of the Netherlands to take a final decision on the refusal of American cruise missiles deployment on the territory of our country. The success of such measure by the Dutch peace movement would have international importance not only for our country but for the whole of humankind. Maybe some considers such statement bombastic but he is wrong: the breakage of a nuclear spiral would really meet the interests of all people on earth.

However, instead of conducting common actions, instead of adherence to the idea of the common denominator, we see that the Dutch peace movement is in the state of indecision and hesitation affected considerably by apathy and discussions on a "new strategy" which divert the minds of many.

Within the limits of this article it's impossible to tell about all problems of the Dutch peace movement, the problems which are partially characteristic for some other branches of the West European peace movement, in particular to those its parts that joined the Convention of European Nuclear Disarmament (END). We would like to describe in more detail only one element of the widely advertised "new strategies", namely, the so-called "discussion on Europe".

The Interchurch Peace Council (IPC) is greatly responsible for the beginning and direction of that discussion. But we mustn't forget that when we speak about the IPC, we have in mind only its leadership which sets the tone. The so-called problem of Europe wasn't raised by thousands of this movement activists but was imposed by the leaders. Nobody can deny the great positive importance of the IPC in the last years. But we mustn't also close our eyes to what some IPC leading figures do in the ranks of the peace champions in the Netherlands and Western Europe in general. And we mean here not the personalities but the ideas and views they suggest.

## THE WRONG DIAGNOSIS

A show was arranged in Perugia \* last year at which M. Faber and M. Kaldor from the English END at a press conference "diagnosed" the nuclear weapons race and determined "therapy" to cure it. True, Faber said that it was his personal opinion, however, it was a trick. Really, who would have an interest in Faber's personal opinion if he hadn't been IPC secretary and END representative abroad? Besides, his views revealed at the press conference can easily be found in IPC publications, for example, in newspaper "Vredeskrant" of 1984. They also can be heard at previous END press conferences in West Berlin and Brussels.

The essence of Faber and Kaldor's joint demarche was in their disagreement with the peace movement participants as the latter, allegedly, accentuate too strongly the nuclear threat while the real evil was in the division and occupation of Europe. Therefore, the main task of the peace movement must be, supposedly, assistance in ending the occupation and division of Europe and discussions on these themes must be the main dish for the peace movement participants in the near future. "Dissident groups of peace champions" from East Europe, they say, must be invited to take part in these discussions.

Speaking about the "occupation" of Europe, this pair didn't fail to mention that the USA had occupied West Europe with its agreement while the occupation of the East Europe by the Soviet Union was based on "direct or indirect use of military force".

For the Dutch peace movement the "new" strategy must mean, in particular, abandoning the "narrow view on cruise missiles" as Faber wrote about that in "Hervormd Nederland".

The other ingredient of this machination is constant verbiage on a theme of setting off of "open" society against "closed" society and, of course, the notion "open" means capitalist system while "closed"—socialist states.

We are explained that "democracy" is the highest boon which is in short supply in Eastern Europe (see pamphlet by IPC and Pax Kristi published to the "Day of Europe" held in Utrecht on December 15). And they even don't condescend to explain what the notion "democracy" mean.

Of course, "democracy" is the thing we have in the West, and that's enough! Thus, the prescription is very simple: the peace movement mustn't

now give priority to the struggle against nuclear weapons; the occupation of Europe must be ended; the division of Europe must be ceased; the East European societies must refuse from their closed character; every kind of dissident groups in Eastern Europe must be provided with democratic liberties which we value so much. That means, they say, tension between the East and the West, "cold war", the arms race and military confrontation will end. And... we will live happily in "new" Europe.

## ANYTHING NEW?

In all these analyses and directions only new is the fact that now they are proposed on behalf of some quite respectful peace champions in the West. True, the chorus who included into its repertoire old items has a very motley composition. Now we will listen to some of those who declared their adherence to peace movement activists. We won't touch Faber at this time because his reputation as a fighter for freedom of personality in Eastern Europe and "new" Europe is already well known.

Michael Book and Karl-Erik Skarp from the Finnish peace movement formulate the problem in their written report to the conference in Perugia as follows: the main thing is not nuclear armaments but lack of confidence between the great powers. The true confidence is only possible if "each country respects the right for independent peace movements, formation of organizations and freedom of publications". Alas, in the Soviet Union we see the "complete deficit of trust", therefore we must "exert influence on the inner situation in the Soviet Union on a public level. As soon as there is 'unbreakable' tie between peace and democracy" then for the obtaining genuine peace it is necessary to strive for true democracy.

The Italian National Contact Committee adopted last March at the so-called National Conference the document "Principled Statement of the Italian Peace Movement". It says in part that it is quite necessary that "we must dissociate ourselves from the Yalta logic" and that peace can only be guaranteed if "democracy" is functioning. The matter is that "we believe in democracy as a universal value". Naturally, they say, East European societies lack this democracy.

One of the known representatives of the trend adhering to "new" Europe is English historian E. P. Thompson who, by the way, is considered one of intellectuals setting the tone in END. His ideas in concise form were published in "Groene Amsterdammer" last September. According to his opinion, peace movement must be "above obsession by the idea of liquidation of nuclear weapons but turn to be a peace movement".

How? "It must deal not only with material but also with political and ideological disarmament". "Therefore the problem of divided Europe" must be at the head of the agenda of the peace movement supporters' activity.

The analysis of the position of this new trend representatives among the peace movement activists we would like to end with statements by some influential figures in Polish "Solidarity", which some enlisted to the peace movement as well. Jan Minkiewicz, who names himself as a representative of "Solidarity" in West Europe, wrote last July in newspaper "Volksrant" that "the most serious threat to peace and security is... in mass oppression of the greater part of Europe". An opposition, he says, is growing in East Europe who also "search for more contacts with the other part of Europe and calls for more active discussion of the problem of divided Europe". That's why, allegedly, it is necessary to begin searches for "balanced ways for elimination of this division". Of course, "the other part of Europe" is West Europe.

Jacek Kuron, one of "Solidarity" ideologists, with whom the editors of

newspaper "De Waarheid" (in editorial comment on last July 18) are at one and who is welcome in our country, still in 1979 wrote: "In contrast to some of my countrymen, I'm for reunification of Germany. Then we would have a common border and much would change for better." Such an approach is, naturally, analogous to a call to annex the

GDR by West Germany. However, Kuron doesn't limit himself with the solution of "German problem" but moves further. "Our own Polish problem is not Germany or Russia. Our problem—the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics. Till they are dependent, there will be no independence for us, the Poles".

## TELL ME WHO YOUR FRIEND IS...

Where have we heard this song? From the mouths of numerous journalists, politicians, sociologists, statesmen, etc., in the West. And not once. The nuances may differ but the leitmotif is the same. The only difference that other supporters of the "idea" of liberation of Eastern Europe don't attach themselves to the peace movement activists.

Political figures of the Netherlands, Nijpels and Voorhoeve, expressed their opinion on the given problem in "Open Forum" of newspaper "Volksrant" last June. "The constant oppression in the countries of Eastern Europe is the source of tension between the East and the West. Since the end of World War II, a hundred and forty million our countrymen-Europeans live under the conditions of the cruel regimes of the minority imposed on them by a foreign power. The armament is necessary to counteract the "threat of dictatorial regimes and ideologies" with "the aim of halting the spread of totalitarian systems which oppress the man".

The hidden sense is absolutely clear: if you want peace—liberate Eastern Europe at first.

In January 1984 during the opening of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament of the countries which signed the Final Helsinki Act, the US Secretary of State Shultz declared that the United States didn't recognize the lawfulness of the artificially imposed division of Europe. When asked by journalists, he answered that he hadn't meant European borders. That only meant that he wanted to say that the United States didn't recognize the socialist system in Europe.

It is certain revanchist circles in West Germany who want to constantly keep the lawfulness of the post-war borders in Europe on the agenda. Federal Chancellor Kohl belongs to them. He

said recently (at the meeting of the so-called exiles from the homeland) that the question on the borders remained open and that the 1937 German borders are still had to be discussed. Thus, the speech is about the direct undermining of the treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia concluded at the beginning of the 70s during W. Brandt's occupation of the post of Federal Chancellor. Certain West German circles are encouraged to the annexation of the GDR as well as of considerable parts of Polish and Czechoslovak territories.

President Reagan was quite frank concerning the United States' attitude to the East European countries during his speech before the Americans of Polish origin on last August 20. He said that they rejected any interpretation of the Yalta agreement presupposing the recognition of the division into spheres of influence by America. The USA didn't accept the continued enslavement of the East European peoples, he declared.

Shulz, Reagan, Nijpels, Farber, Kaldor, Kuron, Thompson and the like had many forerunners. Here we mention only some well-known personalities. Churchill was one of the organizers of the intervention against the young Soviet state in 1918-1919 with the aim of

"liberating" the Soviet Union's peoples from Bolshevik oppression.

Similar attempt was made by Hitler who "had freed" at the same time the Netherlands and a number of other countries. We would like, in fact, to notice that while mentioning Hitler here we don't want to compare the above people with him or to ascribe the Hitler's motifs to them. The speech is only about the historical lessons and the consequences of the blind anti-communism. The characteristic which was given to anti-communism by a man who himself wasn't a communist proved to be quite just: anti-communism is the greatest foolishness of the twentieth century. These words belong to Thomas Mann.

Truman declared the "theory of curbing"; Eisenhower called upon "crusade against communism"; Dulles' greatest dream was to wipe out communism off the earth's face. Reagan openly says about his desire to root the "empire of evil", and so on.

## THAT PROBLEMATIC EUROPE

Peace movements are not political parties. They also don't belong to any political or ideological closed organizations. As we have already said they can acquire mass character in the West only if they act under the common denominator of the struggle for peace.

However, lately some people allow to use themselves as tools for waging "cold war", and we think it can be explained by shortsightedness, insufficient knowledge of history and lack of understanding of the mortal danger around us. In case the peace movement will orient itself to the aims and strategy we mentioned above, then it cannot serve the cause of peace. On the contrary, it will only strengthen political and ideological positions of those who strive to have more weapons, deploy more missiles and pursue a course of confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Liquidation of the socialist system is an open aim of all reactionary politicians beginning from 1917. It's absolutely incomprehensible why some peace movement supporters allow to lead themselves away from the real aim and to use themselves for a new crusade. I think that the critical remarks made last July by H. Feddema and J. Riemens in newspaper "Trouw" are quite correct: Faber said that the most important priority is destabilization of the Eastern block, at the same time he passes by the Helsinki agreements. Such step has nothing to do with the policy of peace.

As we have seen, Faber is only one of the soloists in this choir, only an element in the trend leading to confrontation.

Europe is, of course, a problematic continent. Even if for the reason that an armed conflict on its territory would end in a world conflagration. It is for these circumstances that the Final Helsinki Act had and has the enormous historical importance. Our problems can be solved only on the basis of the programme contained in this document. We must apply all our forces and energy to fulfil this programme. True, fear



cannot be taken as an only basis for the prolonged struggle against the arms race. There is a need for more broad political perspectives and plans. And it is the Helsinki Final Act that provides us with such possibilities. By the way, such an approach is acceptable for all sober and realistically-minded people in the East and in the West. But for that it is necessary to acknowledge that socialism occupies a firm place in our world and that an attempt to solve an argument between socialism and capitalism by military methods would mean a sure death for all of us.

Ideological and political struggle is going on everywhere, different systems included. The process of social changes can also nowhere be halted. However, the aim of the peace movement supporters is to force governments to abandon to consider and use wars as a political means in our nuclear age. The

aim of these movements is to take measures for lessening the possibility of wars, i. e., to wage the struggle for disarmament, mutual disarmament. The East and the West can go for contacts

when our vital interests are the matter of concern. Helsinki is one of such examples.

And to conclude: The manifesto against nuclear weapons adopted by the Interchurch Peace Council in 1977 built a basis for mobilization of the masses against nuclear weapons in our country. This manifesto has preserved its actuality and authority. Maybe it's high time for some IPC figures to re-read this document attentively once more?

Some people are prone to forget the reason that moved the peoples' masses both in the Netherlands and other countries of East and West Europe to action. And the aim of this movement was averting nuclear danger, not liberating Eastern Europe.

Bulletin of the Dutch Committee for European Security and Cooperation, No. 4, 1984.

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REVIEW OF JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 4, 1985

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 30 Apr 85 pp 1-3

[Excerpt] The April issue of the journal carries an article "The Life-Giving Ideas of Bandung" by Secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee M. Zeinalov. It is devoted to the 30th anniversary of the convocation of the Bandung conference, the first-ever meeting of the leaders of independent countries of Asia and Africa.

The author writes that the decisions adopted in Bandung determined the guidelines for the political evolution of the Afro-Asian countries and their place and role in the present-day world for many years and decades ahead. It was exactly the first Afro-Asian conference that included such notions as "positive neutrality" and "non-alignment" into the sphere of state-to-state relations. These notions later became the fundamental principles of the newly free states' foreign policy.

The article says that the policy pursued by a sweeping majority of non-aligned countries convincingly reaffirms the vital power of the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and demonstrates not only the possibility but also the necessity of their cooperation for the sake of accomplishing the pressing tasks. These principles are reliable, correct guides for the non-aligned movement in the deteriorating international situation. Being guided by them, the movement has emerged on the main roads of world politics, and has proved to be able to effectively influence the shaping of the political climate on our planet, and to increasingly play the role of a stabilising, constructive factor of international life.

The historic meeting in Bandung gave mighty impulses to the anti-imperialist movement of the public-political forces in many countries of Asia and Africa and armed them with correct and clear targets in the fight for the liberation and development of their countries and peoples--the principles of solidarity, cohesion and joint actions. These principles gave life to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), M. Zeinalov points out. The intensive activity of the Solidarity Organisation and its wide cooperation with the non-aligned movement and with other peace forces and organisations have made it a major and authoritative centre of the world anti-imperialist, democratic movement.

The Soviet Union sincerely welcomed the emergence of the non-aligned movement and of the Afro-Asian people's solidarity movement in the international arena and undeviatingly supports their peaceable, anti-imperialist platform and helps enhance their prestige and influence in the present-day world.

The journal publishes the article "Vietnam. A New Stage of the Revolution" by A. Yermolayev.

In the spring of 1975 the bloody Saigon regime crushed. It was kept for over 20 years on American bayonets and dollar injections. This was the end of the longest, hardest and also the greatest patriotic war in Vietnam's history.

The author stresses that the victory of the Vietnamese people was truly historic. That victory dealt a powerful blow at the global hegemonistic plans of American imperialism and its allies. It became a great source of inspiration for all fighters against imperialism and reaction, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The author points out that successes in socialist transformations of the complex social structure inherited from the Saigon regime, as well as the recovery and development of the economy on a socialist road would have been impossible were it not for the Communist Party of Vietnam, the steered vanguard of the Vietnamese working class and all working people, the Party which was at the head of the struggle for a new life.

During ten years which have passed after liberation the south of Vietnam has made great progress in its social development. Many problems have been solved in arranging the all-round political and economic integration of the North and the South which up to 1975 developed in opposite directions. The state reunification in July 1976 along democratic lines as a result of national elections signified a great victory. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam the unification of voluntary organizations--trade union, youth, women's, etc.--was accomplished.

The state reunification has led to the consolidation of the financial and money system of both parts of the country and to the pursuance of the single policy in economic management. The economic exchange between the North and South is expanding. A single transport and communication system is operating. The planned principles of economic development which are single for the whole country are being strengthened. Despite the continuous pressure by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism Vietnam, which has become united, is full of determination to implement the plans of socialist construction, A. Yermolayev writes in conclusion.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### LENIN ON REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY, NATIONAL LIBERATION IN ASIA

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 5-8

[Article by V. Maksimenko, candidate of historical sciences: "V. I. Lenin on the Social Structure and National Development of Eastern Countries"]

[Excerpts] The date of 22 April 1985 will mark the 115th anniversary of the birth of the greatest revolutionary of all times and all nations, the man who continued the great work begun by K. Marx and F. Engels and who founded the first socialist state in the world--Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Lenin's life and his teachings have served millions of people on all continents of the world as a guiding star.

The progressive international public on various continents is certain that "the chronicle of the greatest events of the 1980's rightfully begins with the 26th CPSU Congress."<sup>1</sup> The precise and realistic program outlined by the congress in the sphere of international policy organically related the struggle for peace and the prevention of global nuclear catastrophe to support for the struggle of people fighting for freedom, democracy and national independence. Today, on the threshold of the 27th party congress, this principled approach still serves as a reliable point of reference in CPSU international activity.

The theoretical fundamentals relating the struggle for peace and socialism to the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation were first set forth by V. I. Lenin.

Lenin's articles of the pre-October period regarding fundamental problems in the social development of Eastern countries are closely related to his analyses of sociopolitical changes in Russia (for example, the agrarian-peasant issue) and the international situation in general. It would be impossible to fully appreciate the significance of Lenin's contribution to the analysis of the revolutionary process in Asia, which had just woken up to a new life, outside the context of Russia and the world and without consideration for the actual objectives of the Bolshevik Party in the struggle against tsarism and in the efforts to unify proletarian-internationalist forces. In this article we will discuss only one of the Eastern issues Lenin analyzed, but to him it was the most important issue--the issue of the connection between social and national principles in the revolutionary-democratic, national-liberation movement.

The unique nature of this connection in the East and the exceptional importance of its accurate interpretation for the prospects of socialist revolution stemmed, in Lenin's opinion, from, first of all, the distinctive features of the social structure of Eastern countries and, secondly, the mainstream of "national development"<sup>4</sup> and "national revolution"<sup>5</sup> in this part of the world.

Even before the period of "Asia's awakening," Lenin drew an entire series of historical parallels in his works, indicating that he discerned an important similarity in some extremely significant structural features of Russia and the Asian East of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

For example, in his article "The Chinese War" (1900), Lenin wrote that the Chinese people were "suffering from the same evils that are tormenting the Russians"; these evils included the "Asian government" and "capitalist oppression"<sup>11</sup> that were smothering the peasants (that is, in Marx' terminology, the laboring public was suffering simultaneously from capitalism and from the insufficient development of capitalism).<sup>12</sup> In 1901 Lenin noted that the "Asian government (in Russia--V. M.) needs to rely on the Asian form of large-scale land ownership," on those whom Lenin called "the Asian satrap class."<sup>13</sup> A few years later, in 1903, Lenin would be pointing out the fact that only "in Turkey and in Russia are the people still politically enslaved by the sultan's government and the tsar's autocratic government."<sup>14</sup> In the amendments to the RSDRP program (1902), Lenin would later describe the social structure of the Russian society as "barbarous Asiatic forms of exploitation and the agonizing extinction of the multimillion-strong peasantry."<sup>15</sup>

Obviously, Lenin never meant that the social structure of Russia in the early 20th century, with its semideveloped capitalist relations and half a century of reforms, was identical to the overwhelming majority of underdeveloped Eastern countries. It was not that they were identical, but merely that they were comparable and had certain similarities "in many extremely significant respects."<sup>18</sup> The key to this similarity was the "power of the land" or "power of the medieval landowner class," which had not been eradicated by "secondary" (or "tertiary") capitalism<sup>19</sup>--or, more precisely, an archaic social structure for the 20th century, based on a symbiosis of the power of land ownership and the authoritarian despotic state.

The symbiosis of the "power of land" and the power of the authoritarian state was characteristic, although to differing degrees, of Russia and the Eastern countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it is still characteristic of many developing countries in Asia and Africa in our day.

In 1908, when Lenin underscored the importance of the presence in the Russian society of the social individual he called the "radical bourgeois (peasant),"<sup>33</sup> he was already quite aware of the similar, in terms of historical roles, social type that was to become the driving force of the new national liberation struggle on the Asian continent. "Asia's awakening" confirmed Lenin's ideas about the comparable features of many countries in the "East" and the "West" distinguished by backward and obsolete pre-capitalist structures. Lenin viewed the whole chain of revolutionary events in these countries as a new chapter in world history,<sup>34</sup> which was being written jointly by revolutions

in Turkey, Persia and China, the national liberation struggle in India and Java, victories in the struggle to solve ethnic problems in Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece and the revolutionary liberation movement in Russia and Austria.

On the eve of World War I, these countries and territories represented the zone of the "democratic movement,"<sup>35</sup> where the Russian "radical bourgeois," the Chinese "broad peasant masses," led by intellectuals educated abroad,<sup>36</sup> the masses of "present-day slaves" in the Ottoman Empire, "feeling the shame of their slavery,"<sup>37</sup> "the popular masses...giving rise to the nationalist movement under the Islamic banner"<sup>38</sup> and others were objective allies.

Lenin was the first modern Marxist to realize that this mass social movement, which moved freely from country to country and from continent to continent under the conditions of the internationalization of social life, a movement extremely diverse in its social makeup, should be assessed, as he wrote in his article "Leo Tolstoy as a Mirror of the Russian Revolution," "not from the standpoint of the contemporary workers movement and contemporary socialism...but from the standpoint...of protest against the approach of capitalism and the ruin and dispossession of the masses."<sup>39</sup> This social protest by millions of people with no political rights, suffering simultaneously from the intense spread of capitalism and from its inability to rule the social territory it tried to dominate, merged with the struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

Lenin's ideas about the relationship between national and social principles under these conditions found classical expression in the work "Democracy and Populism in China." "The Western bourgeoisie is corrupt...", Lenin wrote. "But in Asia there is **ANOTHER** [in boldface] bourgeoisie, capable of establishing genuine, militant and consistent democracy.... The main representative or main social support of this Asian bourgeoisie, which is still capable of historically progressive action, is the peasant."<sup>40</sup> By emphasizing the word "another," Lenin underscored the transitory nature of this situation: The hypothetical non-corruption of the Asian peasantry became the exact sociological limit of the progressive tendencies of "democratic capitalism" in the East.

Lenin's conclusion that "developing capitalism" gives rise to "two historical tendencies in the national question"<sup>50</sup> allowed him in 1915 to point to "the East, Asia and Africa" as a region where the national liberation "movement lies in the present and the future."<sup>51</sup> As long as imperialism exists, it will be accompanied inevitably by "the expansion and intensification of national oppression on a new historical basis."<sup>52</sup>

The fact that Lenin was able, in his difficult arguments with many of his contemporaries, including the best spokesmen of the West European social democrats (R. Luxemburg and others), to see a second front of the anti-imperialist struggle in the awakening East, in "young Asia," was, from the standpoint of theory, an international projection of the law of "leftist bloc-ism" he had discovered in Russian domestic politics. On the practical level, this signified the laying of a solid foundation for united action by all progressive and revolutionary forces of the present day.



The analysis of Lenin's ideas is not merely a way of commemorating the anniversary, but an essential element of the scientific approach to complex problems in the evolution of developing Asian and African countries in the middle of the 1980's. Lenin's analysis of immature but developing capitalism (including the distinctive features of social obstacles impeding its growth) provides a key to the study of the social structure of many Eastern countries following capitalist patterns of development today. In turn, the analysis of the social structure of developing countries represents the foundation without which there is no scientifically valid strategy of class and political alliances leading to a united anti-imperialist front.

Lenin's ideas are an inexhaustible well of theoretical experience for all Marxist-Leninists. Their strength lies in their profoundly scientific nature, creative boldness, invariable revolutionary consistency, strict methodological unity, the ability to relate today's objectives to long-range development and the superlative art of learning from the past without being misled by it. Each specific example of Lenin's thinking is part of the grand edifice of progressive theory, serving all revolutionary and democratic forces of the present day as a guide in the choice of the best ways of fighting for the ideals of peace, progress, democracy and socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### THIRD DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THIRD WORLD STATES EXAMINED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 26-30

[Article by V. Chagin: "The Third Decade of Development: Theories and Forecasts"]

[Text] In general, after the emerging countries had won national independence, as a result of the changing balance of power in the world economy and the modernization of their internal structure, their rates of economic development rose perceptibly, and this gave them a larger share of world production and, in the middle of the 1970's, a larger share of world trade. In particular, between 1960 and 1980 the developing countries' share of the world GDP rose from 14.2 percent to 18.5 percent, and their share of world exports rose from 24.3 to 30.7 percent (excluding the socialist countries).\*

In terms of several key indicators, such as accumulation norms and export quotas, these countries are almost on a level with developed states or are ahead of them. In terms of levels of economic development, however, they are still lagging behind the industrial states. Furthermore, there has been virtually no change in the size of this lag. This means that the young states are using their resources and participating in international division of labor much less effectively than the developed countries. Conditions for the widespread and steady equalization of levels of economic development do not exist as yet in the developing countries themselves or in the world economy, and this applies particularly to conditions for the eradication of differences in indicators of labor productivity and per capita income.

Furthermore, under the influence of internal and external factors, primarily the structural and cyclical crises in the world capitalist economy and the expansion of transnational corporations and banks, there has been a particularly pronounced process of differentiation among the emerging countries themselves, both in terms of levels of economic development and in terms of their status in the world economy.

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\* Calculated according to data from "Trade and Development Report, 1981," pp 179-180; 1984, pp 96-99; "Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics, 1981," pp 25-28.

Significant differences have also been discovered in the internal economic and social structure of these countries; the social and technological heterogeneity of their economies and interstructural differences in labor productivity still exist; the polarization of public income levels is more pronounced and the scales of unemployment and poverty are broader.

These contradictory results are partially due to defects in development strategy and the inappropriate mechanism of its implementation on the national and international levels, but they are mainly due to sharply conflicting class interests in the determination of the goals of progress and the methods of their attainment and to the absence of profound qualitative changes in the social structure of the developing countries and the organization of the entire world economy, which would not only secure rapid and balanced economic development but would also combine economic growth with social progress and combine the heightened importance of these countries in the world economy with the achievement of economic independence.

Experience has shown that the increasing involvement of young states in economic relations with developed capitalist countries has not produced the desired results. The developing countries have not been able to make full use of the new conditions of resource utilization and the new opportunities for technical development. They have actually remained outside the new system of international division of labor based on the technological revolution, and the huge amounts of credit and financial resources entering these countries from the developed capitalist countries have not compensated for unfavorable tendencies in their foreign trade and have even contributed greatly to the destabilization of their economies.

The negative effects of the increasing dependence of emerging countries on the capital markets and goods of developed capitalist countries were quite evident during the last cyclical crisis, when their share of the GDP and exports of the non-socialist world fell to 18.1 percent and 28.6 percent respectively (in 1983). Besides this, the crisis illuminated some other facets of this dependence and raised some new questions about the developmental prospects of young states. In the first place, there was a change of leaders in the upper echelon of the developing countries: Oil exporters, who had ridden to the top on the crest of the energy crisis, gave up their position to the traditional leaders, industrial exporters, and they, with their more solid production and technological potential, found it easier to adapt to these changing conditions of the world capitalist economy, although even they did not escape its abrupt ups and downs. In the second place, the development of all large debtors, whether oil exporters or industrial exporters, was abruptly curtailed. In the third place, large countries with relatively large domestic markets and a diversified industrial structure, less dependent on external growth factors and, consequently, on the spontaneous processes occurring in the center of the world capitalist economy, developed more slowly but also more steadily.

Under these conditions, the choice of the right strategy and the long-range objectives of development in these countries is particularly important.

At the 11th special session of the UN General Assembly, a new international development strategy for the third decade (1980-1990) was not ratified due to the obstructionist behavior of industrial capitalist countries, and the document adopted at the 35th regular session is extremely inconsistent. In general, however, this document represents an indisputable advance because it records, despite the objections of developed capitalist countries, many important initiatives put forth by emerging and socialist states during the preparations for the decade. Above all, these include statements about decolonization in the sphere of international economic relations, the connection between development and disarmament, the comprehensive approach to development and its connection with the interests of the broad laboring masses in the emerging countries.

The positive elements of the strategy for the 1980's also include production-investment programs envisaging a substantial rise in accumulation norms, the overall acceleration of development, changes in sectorial and technological production proportions and the substantial expansion of foreign economic relations.

However, the main flaw of the previous decades of development, namely the discrepancy between declared aims and the actual means of their attainment, has not been eliminated. In other words, there is still no adequate mechanism of development on the national and international levels. This means that the actual course of development, just as in the past, will depend not on the aims of strategy but on spontaneous processes in the economies of the young states themselves and in the world capitalist economy.

In general, in the next two decades the intensification of the contradictions of reproduction in the world capitalist economy (structural and cyclical) will probably slow down rates of economic growth in the developing countries, and the growth rates of their foreign economic ties will converge with GDP growth rates but will still surpass growth rates in the industrial capitalist countries, so that their share of world production and trade will increase.

At the same time, in the next decade the economic indicators of emerging countries, just as those of the entire world capitalist economy, will probably be worse than in the following decade because the effects of cyclical and structural crises have not been fully surmounted as yet, and the influence of the reorganization of international economic relations will be minimal.

The transition to the new type of population reproduction (a low birth rate and low death rate) in the developing countries can be considered stable only in the modern sector of their economies. For this reason, although the "population explosion" has already peaked in these countries, the possibility of a new increase in the population growth rate cannot be excluded. This has a negative effect on economic development. In the first place, consumption will absorb much of the increase in national income, thereby limiting accumulation, and attempts to stimulate accumulation will limit consumption, particularly among the poorest strata of the population. In the second place, the retention of the capitalist model of development will mean that much of the increase in available manpower will not be involved in production,

and any attempt to institute labor-intensive production will lower the capital-labor ratio and labor productivity.

The employment problem is becoming one of the most acute economic and social problems in these countries. The surplus manpower in rural areas will be forced into the cities, but industry, given its present model of development, will be unable to absorb it even in the urban sector. This will result in an increase in overt and covert unemployment. In some countries where the employment problem is particularly acute, special measures will be taken to expand employment through the development of small-scale production. At best, however, this can only reduce overt unemployment. Part-time employment, the main result of overpopulation in these countries, will increase. Furthermore, its patterns will change: The tertiary sphere will serve as a "settling tank" along with agriculture.

In general, accumulation norms will stay high because the capital-intensive type of development will be maintained in the majority of emerging countries, and the need for large capital investments will be dictated primarily by the development requirements of agriculture, power engineering, transportation, science and technology and environmental protection. The rise in the accumulation norm, however, cannot be as dramatic as in the past because internal and external conditions of accumulation are deteriorating. Under these conditions, the effectiveness of accumulation will have to be heightened through the improvement of the quality of means of production and manpower and the organizational forms of their combination, and the maintenance of optimal sectorial and technological proportions in the economy.

Furthermore, development will be uneven because accumulation norms will rise primarily in middle-income countries while the stabilization or decline of this norm will probably occur in all other countries--as a result of the transition to the intensive type of development in the upper echelon and as a result of the partial transfer of resources to the development of the social infrastructure and the maintenance of minimal consumption levels in the poorest strata of the population in the lower echelon.

The growth of consumption will be restricted by the relatively slow growth of labor productivity, the increase in full and partial unemployment and the uneven distribution of income. State employment programs and consumption subsidies will impede an increase in the percentage of the population living below the official poverty level, but they are unlikely to prevent it. And since rising demand will expand the boundaries of poverty, a higher percentage of the population might fall within this category. Consumption patterns could change under the influence of rising income, but these changes will affect primarily the wealthiest strata. Food will remain the basis of the consumption of low-income groups.

The growth rates of agricultural production will probably rise slightly, especially in countries with reserve land and the potential of a higher yield. The main factor of growth will be the use of the achievements of the "green revolution." Programs of agroindustrial integration, envisaging stronger production relations between industry and agriculture, including relations within the rural sector itself (integrated rural development), will

apparently play an important role in accelerating agricultural development. In general, however, food supplies will still be a problem because the demand for food will still exceed supplies, and shortages will become more acute. The situation with regard to food in the developing countries as a whole is not likely to improve by the end of the second decade, and it will deteriorate somewhat in the next decade, especially in the least developed countries with a rural population distinguished by high density and high growth rates.

The grain shortage will grow more acute and will be covered increasingly by commercial imports, while food assistance will become an even more obvious form of political pressure by imperialism on the developing countries. Under these conditions, agriculture will be a more important factor of economic dynamism and stability. It is possible that development strategies and programs in countries experiencing a shortage of food and currency resources will put increasing emphasis on agriculture and related sectors of the economy.

Industry's share of the GDP and exports of these countries will naturally continue to increase, but their dependence on imported manufactured goods will probably grow stronger and industrial exports will not be equivalent to industrial imports. In particular, according to one UNCTAD forecast, by 1990 the proportion accounted for by industrial exports in the total industrial product will rise from 20 to 23 percent, and that accounted for by industrial imports in total consumption will rise from 36 to 47 percent.

As we know, the objective of increasing the developing countries' share of world industrial production to 25 percent by the year 2000 was set at the Lima UNIDO conference (in 1975), and the Arusha program of the "Group of 77" mentions the intention to increase their share of world industrial exports to 30 percent, but no serious forecast provides grounds for the assumption that these objectives can be attained on schedule.

In the critical situation of the early 1980's, there was a relative, and in some cases absolute, drop in the demand of developed capitalist countries, although it was quite unevenly distributed among commodity groups and groups of developing countries. We can assume that this factor will continue to have a negative effect on the economies of emerging countries, slowing down their structural reorganization and growth rates, but it apparently will not decrease their share of world production and trade.

In the first place, the developing countries will retain the important role of exporters of crude energy resources. It is true that the critical state of the economy in the developed capitalist countries is now the main obstacle to the expansion of the emerging countries' crude energy exports, but as they recover from this crisis, their demand for these resources will rise, although more slowly than before due to the slower growth of their GDP, the reduction of their resource requirements as a result of the technological revolution (the incorporation of resource-saving technology, the use of substitutes for natural raw materials and the development of alternative sources of energy) and the development of their own crude energy base.

The developing countries are trying to compensate for the less favorable relationship between supply and demand with the more thorough processing and refining of export resources. But since the situation in the world market for energy resources is hardly stable, they will have to put considerable effort into the organization of this market--the implementation of an integrated raw material program and the establishment of effective ways of stabilizing currency receipts and compensating for losses from the deterioration of trade conditions and dynamics.

In the second place, advances in international division of labor are heightening the importance of emerging countries as exporters and importers of products of the processing industry. It is true that the "new protectionism" of developed capitalist countries, which became much stronger during the crisis, is now impeding the growth of exports of finished products from the young states. This includes high customs duties, various non-tariff restrictions and the direct subsidization of local production, especially in agriculture and light industry.

The developing countries now absorb around a third of the exports of the processing industry from developed capitalist countries, and the industrial capitalist countries are more likely to lose than gain by restricting imports, as this restricts their exports to developing countries. Besides this, restricting the access of cheaper goods from developing countries, especially consumer goods, increases local overhead costs and the cost of manpower. In other words, if long-range development tendencies are taken into account, increased commercial activity in the developed capitalist countries could lead to some relaxation of the "new protectionism," the resumption of the process, interrupted by the crisis, of the intensification of division of labor between developed capitalist and developing countries in the processing industry, and the expansion of their trade in finished items, including the transfer of several industries to young states.

It is unlikely that the involvement of developing countries in the world economy will decrease. To the contrary, industrialization and the incorporation of elements of the scientific and technical revolution could increase their involvement in world economic relations, although the transition to a new technological model of development in industrial capitalist countries in connection with the mass incorporation of resource-saving and labor-saving technology and the use of the import-substitution model of development in some emerging countries could cause the foreign trade of young states to grow more slowly than in the past, and perhaps even more slowly than the GDP at first.

In general, despite the active efforts to find substitutes for imports and the anticipated normalization of export trade, the developing countries will continue to suffer from a disparity between their import needs and export capabilities, and the deficit in their balance of trade will continue to be covered by incoming foreign resources--private capital and government aid from the developed capitalist countries. In particular, according to the estimates of the UN Secretariat, the deficit in the balance of accumulations in oil-importing countries in 1990 should be equivalent to 4 percent of the



GDP, and the deficit in the balance of trade should be 6 percent of the GDP.

Prospects for the further growth of foreign resources in developing countries, however, do not appear promising. In the past decade, as we know, the growth of foreign resources in these countries was accompanied by negative developments in their structure: a higher percentage of private resources and a lower percentage of government assistance, and the dramatic growth of payments on foreign investments and loans. In particular, between 1978 and 1982 the correlation of payments to debts in developing countries rose from 32 to 42 percent, and the correlation of payments to export receipts rose from 37 to 61 percent.\*

During the period of crisis, the net increase in foreign resources in these countries decreased and eventually ceased for the first time in many years or even decades. Whereas the growth of militarism has continued in the industrial capitalist countries, the growth of budget deficits has reduced government aid. Under these conditions, the future increase in foreign resources in developing countries will depend increasingly on private capital.

Exports of commercial capital are growing, but apparently not as quickly as anticipated. Furthermore, since there has been a relative decline in the demand of developed capitalist countries for crude energy resources, the transfer of private investments to the processing industry can be expected. This will be promoted, on the one hand, by the growing size and diversified structure of the market in the emerging countries and, on the other, by marketing difficulties and the rising cost of manpower and of environmental regeneration expenditures in developed countries.

A stronger flow of loan capital can also be expected. Today this process is being impeded by high interest rates in the developed capitalist countries and the diminished solvency of developing countries. As they emerge from the cyclical crisis, these limitations will be surmounted, partially as a result of the accumulation of surplus capital in developed capitalist countries and their efforts to alleviate marketing difficulties by expanding exports. This process, however, will give rise to new limitations--reduced exports of capital from the developing countries and larger budget deficits in developed capitalist countries.

According to IMF estimates, the growth rate of credit and financial resources in developing countries is not likely to exceed 10 percent before the middle of the 1990's, as compared to 17 percent in the 1970's. It is possible that the growth of payments on foreign investments and loans and the reduced flow of capital to developing countries will lead to the net withdrawal of resources from these countries.

Therefore, some improvement in the external conditions of reproduction in developing countries can be anticipated in the future, but if recovery in the developed capitalist countries does not evolve into more or less

\* "World Economic Survey," 1983, pp 51-52.

prolonged and stable growth, the economic development of the emerging countries and their struggle to establish a new international economic order will take place under more difficult conditions than before. Under these new conditions, they will have to rely on the fuller use of internal resources, and this could entail the further development of reciprocal contacts between young states and their cooperation with socialist countries.

Calculations indicate, however, that projected rates of economic progress cannot secure the attainment of the main goals of social development in these countries. In particular, the prevention of the exacerbation of employment problems will require a GDP growth rate in excess of 6 percent, and the satisfaction of minimum "basic needs" will require a rate exceeding 9 percent. But if we exclude excessively optimistic and excessively pessimistic estimates (that is, if we assume that growth rates will be 4-4.5 percent), this will not be enough to solve employment problems or to satisfy "basic needs." Even if rates of economic progress in these countries approach the optimal level, possibilities for the attainment of social development goals will still be extremely debatable because this will presuppose not only higher rates of economic growth but also certain advances in social organization. This means that the level of social tension and political instability is not likely to decline in the young states, and the severity of their conflicts with imperialism over the reorganization of international economic relations and the terms of commercial exchange, technology transfers, private capital investments and government assistance will remain quite pronounced.

Under the influence of internal and external factors, differences between developing countries in terms of levels of economic development and positions in the world economy are increasing, and the heterogeneity of the internal and external conditions of reproduction in these countries will be intensified. Three main groups of countries have objectively taken shape and will probably continue to exist in the developing world.

First of all, there are the middle-income countries, which have come the closest to the lowest level of the developed capitalist world. These can be termed the first echelon.

With some reservations, this category could also include countries with a high GDP, where capitalism is less developed but where there is a relatively developed export sector of the extractive or processing industry, distinguished by a high degree of participation in international division of labor and relatively favorable conditions of exchange on the world market. Most of these are exporters of manufactured goods and suppliers of oil. In these countries the problem of accumulation has essentially been solved from the standpoint of resources, and the main factors limiting growth are tendencies in the world economy--that is, the dynamics and patterns of world demand--or the underdevelopment and disunity of the internal economic and social structure, which precludes the complete use of existing resources, especially currency, for the purpose of national economic growth.

In the oil-exporting countries the high level of income from sales usually was not accompanied by commensurate advances in underdeveloped links of the

economy, and the surplus of currency was absorbed by the international capital market. In countries exporting industrial products, on the other hand, with their larger domestic market, more highly developed industrial structure and higher level of internal economic integration, income from exports led to the perceptible expansion of the industrial sector and the reinforcement of its ties with the domestic market.

The countries of this echelon will probably continue to be the leaders of the developing world, but it is possible that the slower growth of world demand for crude energy resources will return this position to states with a developed export sector of the processing industry, particularly if changes in the sectorial and technological structure of industry in these countries are combined with the establishment of their own research and development base.

The countries of the second echelon are generally distinguished by a medium-sized GDP. In these countries the economy has usually developed more slowly, but with more sweeping changes in the sectorial and technological structure and more balanced relations between internal and external growth factors, especially in states where agrarian reforms and the "green revolution" stimulated the accelerated development of agriculture, and where the flow of foreign capital into the export sector of industry was balanced by increased local investments in industries geared to the domestic market.

Rates of economic development in these countries will continue to be more stable because the degree of reorganization of traditional structures and internal economic integration is higher in these countries and they are less dependent than industrial exporters, and much less dependent than oil exporters, on the foreign market.

The countries of the third echelon have a low GDP. They are distinguished by the predominance of their agrarian sector and the high density of their rural population, and by a relatively low level of participation in international division of labor and relatively unfavorable conditions of exchange on the foreign market. These countries will continue to lag behind the center of the world capitalist economy and the upper echelons of developing countries in terms of income level, although the prospects for economic growth in various zones of the third echelon are not exactly the same.

In the least developed countries of this group, which are in the pre-industrial stage of development and have no viable export sector of the raw material or industrial variety, economic progress will depend largely on external resources in the form of foreign private investments or government assistance.

In large countries with a relatively large domestic market and a relatively better industrial structure, geared primarily to the domestic market, most of the momentum for development will come from within, and foreign resources will serve as something like a catalyst of growth. In the future these countries could establish a multisectorial industrial complex, allowing for the accomplishment of reproduction on an essentially national basis, and the gradual reorganization of underdeveloped economic sectors. But economic development in these countries will be a slow process, and the degree of their

participation in international division of labor will be negligible. Possibilities for the further acceleration of growth in these countries will depend on progressive changes in demographic processes (a different type of population reproduction), the system of social relations, especially the agrarian form, and the sectorial and technological structure of the economy--primarily the scales and rates of agroindustrial integration.

In general, the deceleration of growth rates in the upper echelon could reduce differences in GDP levels in the developing world, but it is quite probable that differences in other development parameters could increase--for example, the quality of growth.

Therefore, we can assume that differentiation in the developing world during the third decade of development will primarily take the form of a wider gap between the upper echelon of developing countries (around 15 percent of the population and 50 percent of the GDP) and the lower echelon (around 60 percent of the population and 20 percent of the GDP). Of course, some changes are possible within these echelons, but it is not likely that the general outlines of the developing world will change substantially by the end of this period.

Its position in relation to the developed world is not likely to change either. Only a few emerging countries in a particularly favorable position will be able to match the lowest GDP level of industrial capitalist countries. Of course, the developed world will not stay the same either. Under the influence of the technological revolution the criteria and indicators of development will change. As for the majority of young states, they will remain underdeveloped by today's standards.

In other words, it is unlikely that the developing world will cease to exist as a separate entity by the year 2000. Formative processes in developing countries will be much more uneven: The involvement of these countries in the world capitalist economy will take place more quickly than the establishment of internal prerequisites for a mature capitalist society, and therefore the social base for the transfer of some of these countries to the non-capitalist course of development will continue to exist and might even grow.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### COURSE OF SWAPO'S 25-YEAR LIBERATION STRUGGLE REVIEWED

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[Article by Yu. Gorbunov, candidate of historical sciences: "SWAPO: A Quarter of a Century of Struggle"]

[Text] The Namibian liberation movement has old fighting traditions. More than once, the Namibians launched armed rebellions against German (starting in 1884) and South African (starting in 1915) colonizers. The current stage of this movement began in the late 1950's and early 1960's, when political organizations were formed in the country, with the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) occupying the leading position among them. After its formation in April 1960, it traveled a difficult road of development and in the middle of the 1970's it became a revolutionary party representing a united national front of all anticolonial, antiracist forces in the country and was recognized by the United Nations and other international organizations as the legal representative of the Namibian people.

After the South African racists seized Namibia, they maintained and developed the bases of the colonial regime established by German imperialists during the 30 years of their rule: Africans were kept on special reservations and could leave them only to work at enterprises of the colonial economy--mines, factories and plants owned by foreign capital--and on the farms of local colonists. Now around one-fourth of the African population in the country works for hire.

In the 1960's the racists began to carry out the plan for the bantustanization of Namibia. Tribal reservations were called "self-governing" as soon as the government was able to convince traditional community leaders to cooperate with it. The Namibian liberation movement had to perform two urgent tasks: It had to unite all antiracist forces and to learn to use modern forms of struggle for independence. Only SWAPO, in contrast to the numerous ethnic political groups, was able to express the real feelings and desires of all Namibians.

A clear political program of action was needed to unite patriots. In the beginning of the 1960's the SWAPO program set forth the following goals: complete independence, universal suffrage, the eradication of racial discrimination and the prohibition of forced labor. SWAPO demanded that the

Africans be granted freedom of speech and the press and the right to form legal organizations. It announced its anti-imperialist position and its intention to cooperate with all progressive movements in Africa and on other continents and to support all peace-keeping efforts throughout the world.

Striving for unity, SWAPO joined various coalitions of local African groups. The coalitions disintegrated, however, because they were incapable of advancing a program more progressive and democratic than the SWAPO program, which they, incidentally, did not want to take as the basis of their activity. These groups did not acknowledge the just and necessary nature of the armed struggle for independence SWAPO had begun in August 1966, when it became clear that the South African Government had no intention of negotiating a peace with representatives of the Namibian people or of making Namibia a UN protectorate.

South African ruling circles tried to carry out the plan for the bantustanization of Namibia by rallying puppet African organizations round the racist minority. In 1975-1977 the racists invited the leaders of various ethnic groups to the so-called Turnhalle Conference for the purpose of creating a "black-white" bloc, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), of holding illegal elections to the "National Assembly" in December 1978 and of establishing a "multiracial" ministerial council under a South African administrator general. After Pretoria was already certain that its hopes had been realized, the majority of African leaders suddenly announced their withdrawal from the DTA and the "National Assembly" at the beginning of 1983. The occupants had to throw off their disguise and openly take all power back into their own hands.

The schism occurred because the Africans who had believed that the regime could first be relaxed and then "democratized" gradually realized that the racists had not changed the economic bases of colonial rule, that they had not abolished the laws of apartheid but had supplemented them with a stronger military-police punitive network and, finally, that SWAPO had been quite successful in political, diplomatic, ideological and armed struggle against the South African occupation regime.

It was precisely SWAPO that headed the protests of Africans against the system of forced labor, the strikes by black workers demanding higher wages (including the national strike of 1971-1972), demonstrations against arrests, torture and terror and against the abuses committed by reactionary rulers of bantustans against their fellow tribesmen, and constant exposures of the crimes of occupation authorities. It was precisely SWAPO that drew up some extremely important documents and theories--the draft constitution of independent Namibia, its own new political program and charter and the charters of public organizations operating under its auspices.

With the aid and support of socialist states and African and other developing countries, SWAPO has condemned the maneuvers of imperialist circles in the West and South Africa from the rostrum of the United Nations and other international organizations and at various conferences. In a show of goodwill, it consented to a dialogue with the South African Government through a so-called "contact group" formed by the United States, England, the FRG, Canada and

France (the latter left the group at the end of 1983). Many years of negotiations, however, reached an impasse through the fault of the imperialist powers, which tried to impose a neocolonial option on SWAPO, whereas it insisted on the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia, recorded in resolutions 385 and 435 of the Security Council.

For almost two decades now, SWAPO has headed the Namibian people's armed struggle for independence. The war in Namibia is costing South Africa billions of rands a year, its armed forces had to be increased from 39,000 personnel in 1961 to 255,000 in 1981, and the total cost of maintaining its army and strengthening its military-industrial complex rose from 44 million rands in 1960 to over 4 billion in 1983. South Africa has stationed 70,000 or 80,000 soldiers and officers in Namibia.

The occupants have been unable, however, to subdue the armed opposition to the racist regime. Although the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), created in the early 1970's, does not control large portions of the country as yet, it has been able to establish a "military equilibrium" in spite of colossal difficulties. In the first place, the South African army stationed in Namibia has an obvious advantage in terms of materiel because SWAPO has no aviation, armored forces, etc. In the second place, the Namib and Kalahari deserts are easily visible from the air and are largely uninhabited, and it is impossible to live there for even a few days without supplies of food and water. In the third place, in the wooded savannah of northern Namibia, the occupants declared a state of emergency, established a "dead zone" along the Angolan border and moved the civilians from this region into "fortified communities" surrounded by barbed-wire and close to their own garrisons. Nevertheless, PLAN is active in virtually all parts of the country.

The main reason for PLAN's successes is the just nature of the Namibian people's national liberation war against the occupation regime of South Africa and local racists. Subunits of patriots, manned by military specialists--commanders, artillerymen, field engineers, communication men, medical personnel and others--are supported by the local population. The fighters are inspired by political commissars. All ideological work in the army is supervised by the military department of the SWAPO Central Committee.

The new SWAPO program warrants special discussion. In 1976 SWAPO held a congress in Walvis Bay, at which time the significance of the unity and cohesion of the external and internal wings of the organization was underscored. The decisions of the congress were supplemented at the first extended plenum of the SWAPO Central Committee in Lusaka (Zambia) that same year, at which time a new program was adopted--not because earlier objectives had already been attained, but because there was a change in the middle of the 1970's in the conditions of the struggle against South African colonialism and racism and against the puppet rulers of bantustans, who had showered promises on the people but were actually aiding in the establishment of a neocolonial regime.

The SWAPO program stipulated a broad range of revolutionary-democratic objectives of the struggle for the national and social liberation of



Namibians. In an article published in PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma wrote: "We intend to establish a socially just order on the basis of scientific socialism. This is the only way, in our opinion, to carry out social reforms benefiting our people.... If the capitalist course of development is not abandoned, the Namibian people will remain enslaved by capital."

The program calls upon the Namibian people to "fight for unity with the world socialist system and forces for peace and progress throughout the world, and fight against imperialism." Armed struggle is defined as an effective way of winning Namibia's independence.

The economic reforms planned for independent Namibia are more consistent and sweeping than those listed in the first program. The program says that "all means of production and exchange will become the property of the people," economic sectors will develop uniformly, agrarian reform will be instituted and the land will be turned over to its cultivators.

The Namibians expressed their support for this program by rallying even more closely round SWAPO. The unification of all patriots was not accomplished through the creation of a coalition or bloc of African political groups, but through the self-dissolution of several organizations and the transfer of the allegiance of their former members to SWAPO. This idea was brilliantly publicized by H. Wietboj, the grandson of the famous Namibian hero and leader of the Nama minority, Hendrik Wietboj. "Today it is possible to unite around two centers--the national liberation movement and the Turnhalle Conference," he said back in 1976. "Ask yourselves who is oppressing, persecuting, humiliating, torturing and destroying us. SWAPO or the Boers with their puppets? This is why all of the Namibians must support SWAPO as the vanguard political organization of the Namibian people and the organization defending and expressing the ideals of national unity."

The unification of national progressive forces around SWAPO was also promoted by the activities of the majority of African church leaders. SWAPO has been able to establish cooperation with many churches. They use their authority, on the one hand, to inform churchgoers that the non-violent resolution of the Namibian problem with the aid of the United Nations, the OAU and the church is possible in principle and to ask the South African Government to implement the UN and World Court resolutions on Namibia and, on the other, to respond to the constant refusals of occupation authorities to implement these resolutions by joining SWAPO in the mobilization of the African masses for demonstrations to protest the actions of occupation authorities and puppet rulers in bantustans. The imprisoned fighters for national liberation include prominent religious leaders. In October 1978 several churches formed the Council of Namibian Churches, which has supported many of SWAPO's domestic and foreign policy actions. Clergymen are working in refugee camps in Angola, Zambia and Botswana, and some are serving in PLAN.

Therefore, SWAPO has been able to unite all national-patriotic forces in the country.



SWAPO could have been even more successful if Western imperialist circles had not helped the South African racists hold on to Namibia and had not launched their own diplomatic and ideological campaign against SWAPO to keep it out of the Namibian Government. It is no coincidence that the Reagan Administration has actively interfered in the affairs of countries in southern Africa since the end of 1983 in an attempt to deprive SWAPO and the ANC [African National Congress] of international assistance and support.

Imperialist propaganda constantly accuses SWAPO of "professing communism" and "terrorism," intimidates and threatens it and alleges that SWAPO is not a single organization, but two separate, independently operating groups--emigre and domestic--implying that it therefore has no right to represent the interests of the entire population of Namibia on the international scene. The racists have gone even further: They put together a political group made up of SWAPO renegades and splinter groups, traitors to the Namibian people, the so-called "SWAPO-Democrats." It has been several years since this organization was founded, but it still has only a few dozen members. The people do not recognize or support it.

SWAPO's growing influence forced the racists to agree to negotiations with it, although the South African delegation usually includes bantustan rulers in an attempt to demonstrate the irreconcilability of the two sides, SWAPO and the puppets, but to accuse only SWAPO of "intractability."

Two rounds of talks were held in 1984, and Pretoria used different excuses to break them off each time. The first time it was SWAPO's reluctance to deal with a delegation from the Multipartisan Conference (MPC)--an organization put together by the South African Government from among Namibian puppet tribal leaders--because this organization, recently concocted with fragments of the disintegrated DTA, did not represent the Namibian people. The second time it was the frustration of the racists' attempts to link the resolution of the Namibian problem with the withdrawal of Cuban military personnel from Angola. The real reason, however, was the reluctance of the racists to implement or even discuss UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia.

The head of the MPC delegation, President M. Katchiongua of the South-West African National Union (SWANU), one of the oldest African organizations, felt particularly uncomfortable at the talks. He turned out to be a "general without an army" because most of the members of the organization opposed the unification of SWANU and the MPC. At the talks in May, the former president, vice president and secretary for international affairs of SWANU were members of the SWAPO delegation.

Why do the Africans support SWAPO? Because it not only announces its aims but also fights to the utmost for their attainment, and because it expresses the real wishes of the laboring public. "SWAPO is a movement of the working class, supplemented by other laborers: seasonal migratory workers with their numbered collars and peasants, woodcutters and water carriers. SWAPO membership figures are rising because it defends the interests of the Namibian masses. The situation in Namibia calls for cardinal changes--the elimination of the racist system of oppression," said a brochure published by SWAPO in its 20th year.

SWAPO is attaining the social goals of its program--as far as possible at a time when Namibia is still not free of racist occupants. At present, these possibilities exist only in the refugee camps located on the territory of "front-line" states and in so-called "semiliberated regions," where PLAN subunits systematically offer the population medical assistance, explain the fundamentals of their political program and obtain reliable information about the actions of South African troops and the administration in these places.

One out of every ten Namibians is a refugee, and more than 130,000 Namibians have left the country. Since there are many women among the refugees, SWAPO is making a considerable effort to develop a women's movement in the camps (just as it is doing within the country). Women are being taught to read and write, knit and sew, raise fruit and vegetables, care for children and offer medical treatment. The life of the refugees has been organized with a view to self-sufficiency: Everyone must work in the fields or in workshops. Young women, and not only young men, are trained in the martial arts and serve in the PLAN as reconnaissance and communication personnel or as nurses. Women join the Women's Committee--one of the SWAPO public organizations, along with the Youth League, Union of Namibian Workers, children's Pioneer Organization and others.

Namibian women and children learned about kindergartens and Pioneer camps for the first time in the refugee camps. SWAPO sends some young men and women to study in friendly countries.

After graduation, adolescents can enroll in secondary specialized academic institutions, study medicine at Nyong College (Zambia) or acquire secretarial, teaching, economic, administrative, engineering and other skills in the Namibian UN Institute in Lusaka or in technical schools opened in the Angolan province of Cuanza Sul. Namibian children study in Cuba at the Hendrik Wietboij School, established expressly for them, and spend their summer vacation in Pioneer camps in the USSR, GDR, Bulgaria and other countries.

SWAPO has been able to give the younger generations of refugees a happy childhood and adolescence and to offer these outcasts of the racist society a new life, in accordance with its own humane ideals and principles. Namibians know about this from letters from refugee relatives and friends and from SWAPO radio programs and journals. This is why the population supports the program for the construction of a new life in free Namibia, a program which was drawn up and is already being carried out by SWAPO.

At the beginning of the 1980's, SWAPO convened congresses of its public organizations. The second extended SWAPO Central Committee plenum was held in the Angolan city of Cabuta in April 1983. It was attended by 138 representatives of its primary links and public organizations from Namibia, Zambia and Botswana. The plenum summed up the results of party activity since 1976, elected new members to the Central Committee and Politburo (now called the executive committee of the Central Committee) and set the specific objectives of the struggle for the independence of the motherland in the next few years. S. Nujoma was re-elected president of SWAPO, and the vice president is

H. Wietboj. The plenum confirmed SWAPO's willingness to continue the armed and political struggle for the genuine independence of Namibia and for the right of its people to build a new society without any kind of exploitation of some people by others, a society based on the ideals of racial equality, democracy, peace and progress.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF MAURITIUS RULING PARTY DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 51-53

[Article by A. Timurov: "Mauritius"]

[Excerpts] Mauritius, without any exaggeration, is an incredibly beautiful and cozy corner of our huge planet.

The island, which was formed by a volcanic explosion around 70 million years ago, was discovered by Portuguese explorers at the beginning of the 16th century and belonged in turn to Portugal, Holland and France, whose 95-year rule was ended by the English in 1810. They seized the island 4 years after the Treaty of Paris turned Mauritius, Rodrigues and the Seychelles over to Great Britain and allowed France to keep Reunion. The English colonizers spent more time on the island than all of the others--almost 160 years. But under the increasing pressure of the national liberation movement, Great Britain had to grant Mauritius independence within the Commonwealth on 12 March 1968.

During its years of independence, Mauritius has traveled a difficult road, surmounting the oppressive colonial legacy, solving difficult problems connected with the need for greater economic autonomy and experiencing acute class conflicts stemming from the growth of private capitalist enterprise. The most important achievements of this period were the eradication of the poverty of the masses, the encouragement of their political activity, perceptible successes in education (85-percent literacy), public health and the "tourist industry" and definite progress in agriculture and industry.

The unicameral parliament, a Legislative Assembly with a 5-year term, consists of 70 deputies, 62 of whom are elected directly (by a majority vote) and 8 of whom are appointed by the governor general. Executive power is exercised by a cabinet, headed by a prime minister with extremely broad prerogatives. In general, the Mauritian "model" of bourgeois democracy, which has been taking shape for almost an entire century, is similar in many respects to the Indian system. There is a complex multi-party system in both India and Mauritius.

As soon as the country had won its independence--or, more precisely, even earlier--it acquired a rightwing coalition headed by the Labor Party (LP), founded in 1936. By 1968 it was the most influential political force in

Mauritius, with its own personnel and organizations throughout the country, its own press organ and program, and some experience, even if only formal, in self-government during the last 6 years of English colonial rule. Party leader S. Ramgoolam was already a nationally known figure at that time, a man with a great deal of authority among the masses, most of whom associated their hopes for Mauritius' freedom with this individual.

In terms of its class essence, the LP was an organization of the national bourgeoisie, although the party had liberal and national-democratic forces in addition to its predominant conservative and centrist bourgeois elements. Although the Labor Party had a heterogeneous membership and a fairly fragile organizational structure, it was nevertheless far superior to its rivals--the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (PMSD), the Muslim Action Committee (CAM) and the Independent Forward Bloc (IFB), which were founded in the 1950's.

The 1976 elections were an important milestone in the political evolution of Mauritius because they provided the momentum for changes in the country's system of political parties. The MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement], representing the leading opposition force, was supported by 39 percent of the voters and won 30 seats in parliament. Counting the deputies appointed by the governor general, it had 34 of the total 70 seats. The bourgeois parties formed an alliance, however, to keep the MMM from entering the government.

The continued exacerbation of crisis-related problems in the national economy and conflicts within the ruling class and between the national bourgeoisie and the popular masses contributed to the disintegration and reorganization of social, political and party forces. There were disagreements between partners in the government coalition and the Labor Party, which produced a radical splinter group headed by Harish Boodhoo in 1978. A year later the radicals formed the Mauritian Socialist Party (PSM), which converged with the MMM and formed a campaign alliance with it in 1981.

In the next general election in June 1982, the MMM-PSM bloc won a landslide victory over the "national alliance parties" headed by the LP, and also over the Social Democrats, who had campaigned separately. Winning the support of 63 percent of the voters, the MMM and PSM won all of the seats in the Legislative Assembly. The cabinet of ministers, made up of representatives of these parties and the Rodrigues People's Organization (OPR), was headed by Aneerood Jugnauth--the chairman of the MMM. Secretary General Paul Berenger of the MMM was appointed minister of finance, and PSM leader Harish Boodhoo became deputy prime minister and minister of information and cooperatives.

The new government made several important decisions during its first months of activity in an attempt to surmount the difficulties and contradictions of the capitalist development of Mauritius and reduce its dependence on foreign assistance. Mauritius took a realistic and constructive stand on fundamental international issues.

From the very beginning, however, there were differences of opinion within the ruling coalition with regard to the future socioeconomic development of the country, inter-party rivalry and personal conflicts. There was no unanimous

opinion within the MMM leadership on the alliance with the PSM. By March 1983 all of this had already caused a serious government crisis, which was preceded by the split of the MMM into the supporters of Prime Minister A. Jugnauth, who wanted to retain the alliance with the PSM, and their opponents, led by P. Berenger. The latter and 11 other ministers from the MMM submitted a collective resignation. Nevertheless, A. Jugnauth was able to reorganize the cabinet and hold on to his power. In April 1983 he and his supporters formed their own party--the Militant Socialist Movement (MSM), which was later joined by the PSM, headed by H. Boodhoo.

In view of the fact that Jugnauth's second government had a fairly unstable majority in the Legislative Assembly, special parliamentary elections had to be held in August 1983.

A. Jugnauth formed his third government with representatives of the MSM, LP, PMSD and OPR. A two-thirds parliamentary majority gave him a strong hold on his power. The MSM was the leading, unifying force in the alliance. It is indicative that coalition activity is now much more centralized than before under A. Jugnauth's control. He heads the single MSM-LP-PMSD politburo, created at the suggestion of the MSM. All of this, however, does not exclude the possibility of inter-party struggle behind the scenes, because the coalition is heterogeneous and is largely the result of a compromise.

The alliance's campaign platform declared the intention to establish "pragmatic socialism, envisaging total respect for democratic institutions and freedoms," in Mauritius and to gradually transform the economic sector by nationalizing enterprises and augmenting the role of the state sector. Although the coalition made some changes in the foreign policy line mapped out by the MMM-PSM government in 1982, it reaffirmed Mauritius' loyalty to the principles of the OAU and the nonaligned movement, the policy of peace and stronger international security, arms race limitation and disarmament. There has been no change in the Mauritian leadership's position on the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, the return of the Chagos Archipelago to the country and the development of regional cooperation with neighboring insular states--Madagascar, the Seychelles and the Comoros. In general, Mauritius' position on several key international issues is still a thoroughly considered and balanced one.

In accordance with the government's announced policy of "pragmatism and realism," Mauritius is developing "privileged" relations with states offering financial and economic aid to the country--France, India, Great Britain, the United States, Australia, China, Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates. In view of Mauritius' territorial proximity to South Africa, their tradition of close relations and the existence of a Mauritian community of over 30,000 people in South Africa, Mauritius is still maintaining trade and economic exchange with Pretoria and has even been more active in this sphere recently, but this has not kept it from condemning the apartheid regime and supporting the just demands of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The strong friendly relationship between Mauritius and India warrants special mention. Its successful development over many decades has been promoted by

the fact that descendants of Hindus and Muslims from India represent around 70 percent of the island's population.

The Soviet Union was among the first states to establish diplomatic relations with independent Mauritius (on 17 March 1968). Their relationship has been strengthened by several agreements in different spheres. The two countries have repeatedly expressed their desire and willingness to continue strengthening their friendship and expanding mutual beneficial cooperation.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON ISRAEL'S FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICIES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 pp 62-63

[Review by I. Lisitsyna, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Na sluzhbe agressii. Politicheskii mekhanizm i politika Izrailya" [At the Service of Aggression. The Political Mechanism and Policies of Israel] by V. A. Stefankin, Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainy, 1984, 155 pages: "Seat of Tension in the Middle East"]

[Text] The subject of this review is a complex study of the most urgent problems arising from the complicated situation in the Middle East. On the basis of considerable documented information, the author analyzes the basic aims of the foreign and domestic policies of ruling Zionist parties in Israel, the policies that have made this state a seat of tension in the Middle East for many years.

V. A. Stefankin speaks at length about the formation of the State of Israel, the distinctive features of its sociopolitical structure, the connections between the Zionist parties in Israel and the World Zionist Organization, the stronger influence of extreme rightwing forces after the Likud bloc took power and several other of the particularly noticeable tendencies of recent years.

Religious institutions have a great deal of influence in Israeli domestic politics. As the author points out, "rabbinical establishments in Israel, which are by their very nature militant bodies for the Jewish and Zionist indoctrination of the Israelis, provide moral support and 'divine justification' for the expansionist policy of Tel Aviv" (p 45).

A new tendency in domestic politics in recent years has been the continuous polarization of forces in Israel: On the one hand, ultra-nationalist and pro-fascist groups have grown stronger and, on the other, the peace movement has grown larger and stronger ever since Israel launched its aggression in Lebanon in 1982. The author examines the causes and effects of the increased influence of extreme rightwing forces after the Likud bloc took power in 1977 and the further development of this process. He makes the completely justified statement that the intensification of the crisis in the Israeli political system "is primarily the result of Tel Aviv's aggressive colonial policy." He then goes on to say that "the eviction of the Palestinians from their



native communities and the theft of their land and property...led to constant social conflicts within Israel, and these had a pernicious effect on Israeli public life, deforming the political system and strengthening the position of ultra-rightist, fascist elements" (p 55).

The author lists the most acute social problems of the country, including the national and communal discrimination against Arabs and Eastern Jews in all spheres of life: in hiring practices, wages, social security, etc. At the same time, in spite of the racist policy of Zionist circles, aimed at alienating and stifling the Israeli laboring public, the most oppressed segment of this public, the Arab population, has grown much stronger and much more active politically in recent years. This is attested to quite vividly, as the author demonstrates, by the mass protests organized by Arabs in defense of their rights, the stronger position occupied by Arab communists in the leadership of democratic fronts in several parts of the country and the mass demonstrations and rallies against Israeli aggression in Lebanon and for peace in the region and a fair solution to the Palestinian problem.

The author exposes the true nature of the support the United States has given Israel in the military, economic and political spheres, support which Tel Aviv has used to implement the plan for the creation of a "great Israel" by seizing neighboring Arab territories. The U.S. assistance in the implementation of Israel's Zionist policy, the author stresses, is creating an explosive situation in the region and is endangering the entire world.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON 'UNDECLARED WAR' ISSUED BY DRA INFORMATION MINISTRY

Moscow AZIYA I. AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 85 p 62

[Review by D. Kasatkin of book "Undeclared War. Armed Intervention and Other Forms of Interference in the Internal Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan," Kabul, 1984, 120 pages: "The Undeclared War on Afghanistan"]

[Text] The Department of Information and the Media of the DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published the book "Undeclared War. Armed Intervention and Other Forms of Interference in the Internal Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan" (third, supplemented edition).

In an attempt to keep the Afghan people from attaining the goals of the April revolution and instituting progressive socioeconomic reforms, ministry documents state, international imperialism, headed by the United States, and hegemonist and regional reactionary forces are fighting an undeclared war against the DRA.

Counterrevolutionaries entrenched in Pakistan and Iran are sending gangs of dushmans to the territory of the DRA to disrupt the peaceful life of the Afghan people and disorganize the economy by means of terrorist and subversive actions and outright piracy.

The book lists the national economic facilities put out of commission by the revolution's enemies. The damages they have inflicted on the republic economy have been estimated at 35 billion afghanis (p 54).

The ministry publication exposes the real motives of the so-called freedom fighters in Afghanistan--counterrevolutionary leaders Gulbuddin Hekmatiar, Sebhatulla Mujaddadi, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ahmed Gailani and others who have committed many crimes against the Afghan people. These counterrevolutionary leaders are connected with the American CIA and the intelligence agencies of other imperialist powers. After appropriating a large portion of the funds earmarked for Afghan refugees, many of whom had left the country under the influence of hostile propaganda or the threats of enemies, these "officials" opened personal accounts in foreign banks.

The main bridgehead of counterrevolutionary activity is Pakistan. This is the site of the headquarters of six groups--the "Islamic Party" (G. Hekmatiar), closely associated with the reactionary Muslim Brotherhood, "Jamate Islamiye

Afghanistan" (B. Rabbani), the "National Front of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" (I. Gailani), the "National Liberation Front" (S. Mujaddadi), the "Revolutionary Islamic Movement of Afghanistan" (M. Nabi) and Y. Halis' splinter group from the "Islamic Party."

The book describes the nature of the anti-Afghan activity of these organizations and the methods and means they use to train dushmans and lists the names of their bases, support points and camps.

Psychological warfare against the Afghan people is part of the undeclared war, the publication says. This is attested to specifically by the dramatic increase in radio propaganda hostile to the republic. In the past 5 years, for example, the number of broadcasts by 50 overseas radio stations in the languages of the peoples of the DRA increased 30-fold, totaling 100 hours a day. The Voice of America (United States), German Wave (FRG), BBC (England) and radio stations in Iran (in Tehran, Meshed and Zahedan) and Saudi Arabia are broadcasting programs in Dari and Pushtu (pp 56-57).

Printing presses and radio stations in Pakistan and Iran have been put at the disposal of Afghan counterrevolutionaries. They print leaflets and dozens of periodicals for covert distribution in Afghanistan. These publications, just as radio broadcasts, flagrantly misrepresent the situation in the DRA, make slanderous attacks on the policy of the revolutionary authorities and the policy of the Soviet Union and make direct references to the subversive and terrorist actions the bandits have committed against the DRA.

The undeclared war on the DRA, the book stresses, has been supplemented with political and economic sanctions against revolutionary Afghanistan. For example, the Western powers, headed by the United States, took a negative stand on the financing of the DRA national development program submitted in July 1984 to the Governing Council of the UN Development Programme in Geneva.

By resolutely opposing aid to the DRA, the United States and its allies have flagrantly violated the rules of procedure and UN General Assembly Resolution No 38/197. When several plans for the development of the DRA were discussed in such establishments as the World Bank, the IMF and the Asian Development Bank, of which the DRA is a member, Afghanistan encountered increasingly serious difficulties as a result of U.S. pressure on these organizations (pp 57-58). This tactic, the DRA ministry documents stress, is contrary to the UN Charter and the abovementioned UN resolution.

The book is illustrated with photocopies of documents exposing the criminal activity of the counterrevolutionaries and their patrons.

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GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

SOVIET 1984 ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION ABROAD

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 6, May 85 pp 2-10

[Article by Ivan Kapranov, head of the Planning and Economic Department, USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations: "USSR Economic and Technical Cooperation With Foreign Countries in 1984"]

[Text]

Since the war the Soviet Union has concluded agreements on economic and technical cooperation with 82 countries. Under these agreements, with the Soviet Union's assistance, over 3,050 industrial enterprises and other economic projects were constructed in foreign countries. Approximately another 1,670 enterprises and projects are being built or designed.

Over the four years of the current five-year plan period (1981-1984), with the USSR's technical assistance, in foreign countries power stations (total rated capacity over 7 million kW), high voltage electric power lines (total length almost 3,070 km), capacities for manufacturing 7,950,000 tons of sinter, 4,072,000 tons of coke, 3,555,000 tons of pig iron, 6,770,000 tons of steel, 5,660,000 tons of rolled metal, for extracting 26 million tons of copper ore, 12.7 million tons of coal, refining 10.7 million tons of oil; grain elevators (total capacity almost 720,000 tons), railways (length nearly 2,500 km), oil pipelines (length 232 km), gas pipelines (length 233 km), oil storages (capacity almost 300,000 cu.m) were put into operation and over 180,000 hectares of irrigated and developed lands put under cultivation, etc. All in all during these four years nearly 650 important economic projects were partially or fully completed in foreign countries.

In 1984 the Soviet Union rendered economic and technical assistance to 70 countries. Complete equipment was supplied to 55 countries for 756 projects. The complete equipment export amounted to 3,300 million rubles and it was six per cent greater than in 1983. Seven hundred and seventy-four projects were designed for 48 countries. Last

year the Soviet Union helped commission over 200 industrial enterprises, separate workshops and installations manufacturing finished products.

The USSR's economic and technical cooperation with the socialist countries is successfully progressing, its volumes are steadily growing. Soviet organizations' assistance in constructing industrial projects promotes the fraternal countries' economic development and helps solve large-scale economic problems.

Cooperation with the CMEA member-countries is fruitfully expanding. The CMEA member-countries' Summit Economic Conference held in Moscow, June 1984, started a new historically important stage in the development of ties between the fraternal Parties, states and peoples, in deepening socialist economic integration aimed at accelerating economic development and raising the people's well-being. The Conference outlined the long-term directions of the community countries' cooperation in key economic sectors and scientific and technical progress. New significant steps towards coordinating their economic policy were made.

Soviet economic and technical cooperation with socialist countries in constructing industrial enterprises and other economic projects is of great importance for accomplishing such tasks as the change of the power production structure by the priority development of atomic power engineering, improvement of the metallurgical production structure, fuller use of the chemical industry resources, development of sectors of the agro-industrial complex, which is vividly confirmed by the results attained in 1984.

In *Bulgaria*, according to Bulgarian economists, enterprises constructed with Soviet assistance manufacture annually almost 80 per cent of Bulgaria's industrial products. In 1984 an agreement on cooperation in constructing the Belene 2,000 MW atomic power station (two 1,000 MW units) was signed. That year with Soviet organizations' assistance a 60 MW power unit at the Ruse-Vostok IV thermal power station, a 25 MW power unit at the Kremikovtsi thermal power station, a 950/700/500 continuous billet casting mill at the Kremikovtsi iron-and-steel works (reconstruction), a second production line (600,000 tons per year) at the Temelkovo cement factory, a house-building complex in Shuman, sewage purification works in Sofia and Plovdiv, workshops and installations for manufacturing ammonia, cardboard, retreading tyres, etc. were put into operation.

Construction of power engineering projects takes an important place in the two countries' cooperation. Building of the third stage of the Kozloduy atomic power station (units Nos. 5 and 6), the 90-km section of the Romania state border—Dobrudzha substation (in Bulgaria) 750 kV electric power line continued, equipment for the Maritsa-Vostok II thermal power station whose capacity is being expanded from 600,000 up to 1,020,000 kW and for the Trakia thermal power station (60,000 kW) was delivered.

Expansion of the Lenin iron-and-steel works in Pernik and the Brezhnev iron-and-steel works in Kremikovtsi continued. Equipment was supplied for the Asarel copper ore-dressing complex, for expanding the copper smelting complex in Sredna Gora, the Gorubso and Erma-river lead-zinc ore-dressing complexes in Madan, several coal mines and open-cast collieries, enterprises manufacturing butadiene, ammonia, ammonia saltpeter, weak nitric acid, cellulose, paper, styrene, tyres and rubber engineering articles. Great volumes of completing items for tractors were supplied. Automated control systems for Sofia road traffic system and for the Elatsite ore-dressing complex in Sredna Gora were created. Construction of the first section of Sofia's underground railway was carried out, complete sets of equipment for five concrete mixing and three accessory workshops were supplied, prospecting for oil and gas and solid minerals conducted as well as surveys and prospecting for oil and gas on Bulgaria's continental shelf.

In Hungary the second 440 MW power unit at the Paks atomic power station, a grain elevator (20,000 tons) in Dunaujvaros, the first out of six highly mechanized post-offices in Balatonszentgyörgy, the North-Budapest sewage purification works, a phosgene workshop (productivity 10,000 tons per year) at the Borsod chemical complex, an installation for welding blast-furnace bells and bowls and an automated production process control system for converter smelting at the Danube iron-and-steel works were commissioned. Reconstruction of the ground station of the Intersputnik space communication system was completed. Assistance was rendered in constructing the third and fourth power units for the Paks atomic power station, a coke-oven battery at the Danube iron-and-steel works, the Manh and Lencehed coal mines, the Budapest underground railway, and in designing the Nagymáros hydro-electric power station on the Danube.

On April 1, 1985, Moscow was the venue of signing a Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Hungary for the period ending in 2000, which is founded on both countries' aspiration to deepen and improve their relations, raise their efficiency, taking into account mutually beneficial interests and possibilities.

In *Vietnam* the Lam Thao superphosphate factory (capacities were expanded from 120,000 up to 300,000 tons per year), the Bim Son cement factory, capacity 1,200,000 tons per year (reached the designed output), the second power unit (110,000 kW) at the Pha Lai thermal power station, electric power lines (total length over 300 km), the research atomic reactor in Da Lat (restored and capacities expanded up to 500 kW), the first stages of factories manufacturing railway sleepers and galvanic cells, workshops in Haiphong port, a laboratory for analyzing raw tea leaf and finished products manufactured at the tea-processing factories in the Phu Tho region were put into operation. The Cao Son opencast mine's capacities were expanded by one million tons and now have reached two million tons (three million tons in the design).

Construction of the Hao Binh hydro-scheme (capacity 1,920,000 kW) and the Tri An water engineering system (280,000 kW) is under way. A diesel engine factory in Go Dam is soon to be completed. The Thang Long bridge across the Red river was opened to the road traffic as well as along the 1,435 mm gauge railway line although the building of the bridge continues. The Hanoi railway junction is being modernized. Adjustment work has been carried out at the Zuân Mai house-building complex and the Hanoi Trade Union Palace of Culture. A factory manufacturing files, electric power transmission lines and electrical substations, the Lao Cai apatite mine with an ore-dressing section, several coal mines and opencast collieries, the Giap Lai pyrite mine, an electrical engineering and workshop in Dong Gang (expansion), etc., were under construction. Technical assistance was given in prospecting for coal, non-ferrous metals, other minerals and also for subsurface waters.

The activity of the Vietsovpetro, a joint Soviet-Vietnamese enterprise for prospecting and extracting oil and gas from the continental shelf in the south of Vietnam is growing. Here, exploratory wells are being drilled, stationary sea platforms erected, and the first stage of the coastal production base has been constructed. Virgin and

long-fallow lands are being developed, hevea and coffee tree plantations laid and tea processing factories built. An agreement on cooperation in growing vegetables and fruits in Vietnam and their deliveries to the USSR (Siberia and the Soviet Far East) was signed.

In the GDR power unit No. 3 (500 MW) at the Jänschwalde thermal power station was put into operation. This thermal power station's capacity is now 1,500 MW. A production line for manufacturing reinforcing cages at the Gera house-building complex was put on trial operation. Modernization of equipment for the Intersputnik ground space communication station was completed. Great volumes of equipment for expanding the Nord atomic power station's capacities from 1,760,000 up to 3,520,000 kW (units Nos. 5-8) and production equipment for the first stage of the Stendal atomic power station were supplied. Geological prospecting and surveys conducted in the GDR with Soviet specialists' technical assistance helped ensure the planned growth of commercial gas and oil reserves. Cooperation in expanding the Sachsenwerk electrical engineering factory in Dresden continued. Mutual technical assistance for strengthening the production and technical base of agriculture was a new trend in the USSR's cooperation with the GDR. Soviet organizations designed three enterprises for repairing agricultural machinery in Anklam, Demmin and Burg, and the GDR's organizations, in their turn, elaborated designs and specifications for three repair shops in the USSR.

Last October the Soviet Union and GDR signed in Berlin a Long-Term Programme for the Development of Cooperation in Science, Technology and Production for the period ending in 2000, which, in particular, provides for the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations rendering assistance in the construction of atomic power plants and expanding the Ost iron-and-steel complex.

In the *Republic of Cuba* power unit No. 6 (100 MW) at the Rente thermal power station, a factory repairing road-building machinery in Cienfuegos, a factory manufacturing concrete sleepers and rail fastenings in Santa Clara, a rail-welding works in Cumbre Placetas, a new sugar refinery in province Villa Clara were commissioned and 25 technical colleges and vocational centres for 13,000 student places opened. Two sugar refineries and the Caribe ground space communication station were modernized.



The construction of the Havana thermal power station (500 MW), electric power transmission lines, the Juragua atomic power station (880 MW) continued; capacities of the José Martí iron-and-steel works were expanded from 350,000 up to 600,000 tons of steel per year, nickel factories in Punta Gorda, Las Camariocas, Moa and Nicaro and a petroleum refinery in Cienfuegos were erected as well as crude and fuel oil charging and discharging port facilities in Matanzas Bay; new sugar refineries were built and those existing modernized; engineering works for the sugar industry were constructed, the Havana-Santiago de Cuba 860-km main railway line was reconstructed and assistance was given in developing the textile industry, agriculture, geology, in training specialists, etc.

The future development of the USSR's foreign economic ties with the Republic of Cuba is specified in the Long-term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba up to the Year 2000 signed in Havana, October 1984. In line with this Programme Soviet-Cuban cooperation will progress in directions promoting the formation of an effective structure of Cuba's economy based on the maximum use of its own natural resources and balanced satisfaction of a greater and greater portion of the demands placed on the economy and export.

In *Mongolia* in 1984 nearly 70 projects, including 28 on general contract terms, were partially or fully completed. Among those fully operative the most important are: the Tsagan-Tolgoi 3,000-hectare irrigation system for growing cereals and other crops (modernized and extended); a bakery and confectionery complex in Ulan Bator; the first stage of the Baganur opencast coal mine (capacity two million tons of coal per year); the third boiler unit (420 tons of steam per hour) and the second 100 MW turbo-generator at Ulan Bator's No. 4 thermal power station; the Baganur-Choir 220 kV electric power transmission line with substations (length 180 km); the Bulgan-Harhorin electric power transmission line with substations (length 300 km), a young pioneer house for 700 children in Ulan Bator.

Three vocational schools each for 600 students, a land reclamation technical school in Darhan, a motor vehicle school in Ulan Bator, a motor depot in Choir, a dairy farm in Bayan-Hutum, maintenance depots in Ulegei and Choybalsan and a number of various-purpose agricultural projects were also commissioned.

The construction of an ore-dressing complex for extracting and processing fluorspar ore in the Har-Airak region and expansion of the Berhe fluorspar mine and the Shariyn Gol opencast coal mine continued, radio stations

were constructed, microwave links laid, the Ulan Bator air terminal building erected, a brick yard expanded. Housing construction in large towns and aimak centres progressed very quickly, boarding schools were built in rural areas, and large-scale geological prospecting for minerals and subsurface waters undertaken.

The Soviet Union's assistance rendered to Mongolia in developing its agriculture is comprehensive and versatile. It includes the setting up of irrigation systems, farms growing fodders, comprehensive development of virgin lands, creation of dairy farms, watering places, premises for cattle and sheep, veterinary undertakings, construction of warehouses, seed-cleaning stations, workshops repairing tractors and agricultural machinery, etc.

*Poland* received assistance in completing a coking by-product workshop and a rail bulk-hardening workshop at the Katowice iron-and-steel complex, a workshop manufacturing roll-formed sections at the Pokoj iron-and-steel works, in reconstructing the "1700" rolling mill at the Lenin iron-and-steel complex, in constructing the Zarnowiec atomic power station, the first line of Warsaw's underground railway, in establishing two model state farms and in prospecting for oil, gas and solid minerals. Units and parts were supplied to the Warsaw television factory to assemble TV sets. Seven six-hectare greenhouse complexes were under construction in various regions of Poland (one of them at the Sehnice complex in the Wroclaw province was put into use). The 750 kV power transmission line from the USSR's state border to Rzeszow (Poland) and the Rzeszow substation were commissioned. A workshop manufacturing bush roller chains at the Dolzamet works in Chojnow was completed.

Signed May 1984 the Long-term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic up to the Year 2000 outlining the further expansion of USSR-Poland cooperation is an important document.

In *Romania* the "25-114" pipe-welding plant (capacity 110,000 tons of pipes per year) at the Zimnecea iron-and-steel works and a corrugating installation for manufacturing multilayer cardboard (productivity 36,000 tons per year) at the Adjud-Vrancea pulp-and-paper complex were put into operation. In addition a turbo-generator set (100 MW) at the Galați thermal power station started working in a heat-extraction mode, and one of the two capsule hydro-electric units at the Iron Gates-II hydro-electric power station began test runs. These projects increased the coun-

try's capacities for manufacturing pipes by approximately seven per cent, improved the complex's and the town of Galați's heat and power supply and augmented the output of cardboard for packaging goods, primarily those intended for export. The contract construction of three new projects began, they are: the TPA-200 rolling mill in Slătina, a timber pyrolysis installation in Margina and an underwater pipeline on the Black Sea shelf.

In *Czechoslovakia* the following projects were commissioned: the first 440,000 kW power unit at the Bohunice V-2 atomic power station; an installation in the town of Postorna manufacturing fodder dicalciumphosphate (50,000 tons per year), a valuable fodder additive to the diet of cattle and poultry thanks to which this product is practically not imported now from the Western countries; the line of Prague underground railway with two stations—Fuchikova and Vltavska; a workshop manufacturing reinforcements for the Nitra panel house-building complex (productivity 5,500 tons of reinforcements per year); an installation toughening spectacles glass by ion exchange in Kraikov; an automated manufacturing process control system at the ČKD factory in Hocen. Reconstruction of blast furnace No. 2 at the Ostrava-Kuncice iron-and-steel works and the Intersputnik space communication ground station was finished as well as assembly, starting and tuning of the TV studios fitted out with Soviet TV equipment at Brno, Ostrava and Kosice.

Work continued on unit No. 2 at the Bohunice V-2 atomic power station, at the Dukovany, Mochovce and Temelin atomic power stations, on Prague's new underground railway lines, on projects for the iron-and-steel industry, the chemical and communications sectors and on automated manufacturing process control systems, etc. The architectural-finishing work being carried out at the Moskovska station of the Prague underground railway by Soviet specialists to a Soviet design is in full swing.

Cooperation between Soviet and Czechoslovak organizations in constructing industrial and other projects in third countries is an important trend of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in the current year. In 1984 Czechoslovakia supplied equipment to the GDR for the Nord atomic power station, to Hungary for the Paks atomic power station, to Nigeria, Pakistan and Iran for iron-and-steel works constructed with the USSR's technical assistance, to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen for an administrative building, and to Ethiopia for the Melka Wakana hydro-electric power station, etc.

Economic and technical cooperation with other socialist countries is expanding.

In the *Korean People's Democratic Republic* 50,000 kW power units Nos. 1 and 2 at the Chongjin thermo-electric plant were put into use. These improved the power and heat supply to the Kim Chaek iron-and-steel works, expanded with Soviet assistance, and also to other industrial enterprises. Equipment was supplied to coal mines in the Anchu region, and factories manufacturing microelectric motors and bearings in Phyongyang.

In *Laos* the country's largest motor-road bridge was built (length 254 metres) across the river Ngum on highway 13. This assures goods shipment all the year round along this road. Two stone quarries were put into operation.

The delivery of equipment and materials for three vocational schools, the Vientiane University and three agro-chemical laboratories was completed. Laos received equipment for a 70 km power transmission line, a tin mining enterprise, a motor vehicle, roadbuilding and construction equipment repair workshop in Savannakhet, for constructing road No. 9, a hospital and a polytechnical school in Vientiane, the Nabong agricultural technical school, the Latsen agricultural enterprise (a cattle breeding state farm), a water economy projects, a lumbering enterprise in Khammouane province (on a compensation basis). Geological prospecting for solid minerals was carried out.

In *Yugoslavia* the 110 MW power unit No. 2 at the Novi Sad thermal power station, the 210 MW power unit No. 2 at the Bitola thermal power station were commissioned as well as a mine and the Glogovac nickel complex producing 1.3 million tons of ore and 12,000 tons of nickel (in ferro-nickel) per year, a petroleum refinery producing two million tons of oil per year (the second stage of an installation for the secondary processing of oil) in Novi Sad, a petroleum refinery, productivity 2.5 million tons of oil per year (also the second stage of an installation for the secondary processing of oil) in Skopje, the Titovy Rudnicy mine (expansion of output up to 4.5 million tons of coal per year).

Completion of the two power engineering projects (total power 320 MW) will improve the electricity supply to the Republic of Macedonia and the Vojvodina autonomous region.

The nickel complex in Pristina will satisfy the country's needs for ferronickel, an alloy not manufactured here before, and expand the country's export possibilities. Putting this enterprise on a commercial footing is of special

political importance for the country as the Feni ferronickel factory, constructed at the same time with US firms' participation in Macedonia, has been closed and placed in moth-balls for an indefinite period due to its uneconomical working. The secondary processing of oil at the Skopje factory will assure great volumes of high-quality fractions of fuel and reduce the fuel deficit, primarily in transport. In 1984 the commitments on such projects as the Smederevo iron-and-steel complex (expansion of capacities up to 1.6 million tons of pig iron and 1.87 million tons of steel per year), the first stage of the Omarsko iron-ore mine (capacity 2.2 million tons of ore per year) were fulfilled.

Cooperation in constructing the Djerdap-II hydropower station on the Danube (216 MW), the Ugljevik-II thermal power station (300 MW), the Zenica iron-and-steel complex (expansion of capacity from 2 up to 2.65 million tons of steel per year), the Toranica ore-dressing factory (600,000 tons of lead-zinc ore per year) and many other projects continued. For realization of general contracts on the Belgrade and the Danube-Tisza-Danube agro-industrial complexes with repayment by counter-deliveries of agricultural produce to the Soviet Union, in 1984 contracts were signed envisaging the rendering of technical assistance in building the Padinska Skela and Obrenovac greenhouses, delivery of agricultural machinery (the Belgrade agricultural complex) and equipment for land reclamation (the Danube-Tisza-Danube agricultural complex), as well as in constructing a slaughter-house in Svetozarevo.

The Soviet Union contributes greatly to the development of the Asian, African and Latin American newly-free countries economies. Over the postwar years with Soviet economic and technical assistance about 1,950 large economic projects have been commissioned and nearly 1,300 are being constructed or designed in these countries.

In *Afghanistan* in 1984 the Hairaton port was expanded, certain sections of the Hairaton-Kabul motor-road restored, technical systems of the Salang tunnel, Kabul airport and the Jangalak vehicle repair factory modernized. A new residential area was under construction in Kabul, the USSR state border-Holm-Mazar-i-Sharif 220 kV power transmission line was completed and survey of the Holm-Pul-i-Khumri section conducted. Great stress was placed on the effective use of Soviet agricultural machinery supplied to machinery and tractor depots. Last year five such depots functioned. The volume of agricultural work fulfilled by these depots in 1984 was 1.3 times

greater than in 1983. The training of Afghan machine operators continued.

Assistance in arranging the agrochemical service, seed testing laboratories and artificial insemination stations was given. Prospecting for oil, gas and solid minerals was undertaken.

Put into operation were: two motor-transport enterprises for servicing KamAZ vehicles and a motor-transport enterprise for servicing petrol tankers (each able to cater for 300 vehicles) in Kabul, a maintenance station for servicing KamAZ vehicles in Hairaton, an oil tank farm (6,000 cu.m) in Pul-i-Khumri, a factory processing citrus and olives in Jalalabad, three soil-agrochemical and seed-testing laboratories, one each in Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif and Jalalabad, a complex of buildings forming the first stage of the Institute of Social Sciences under the PDPA Central Committee and two vocational schools in Kabul.

In *India* construction and assembly work on the major projects of the Vishakhapatnam iron-and-steel works (designed output three million tons of steel per year) with priority construction of the first stage of the works (nearly 1.2 million tons per year) continued. Work for expansion of the Bhilai and Bokaro iron-and-steel works' capacities up to 4 million tons of steel per year each was conducted. Last year the 130-t converter No. 1, slab continuous billet casting machine No. 4, thermo-electric plant No. 2 (74 MW), etc., were put into use in Bhilai. In Bokaro the converter workshop No. 2 comprising two 300-t converters, a mixer (capacity 2,500 tons), the continuous furnace No. 3, of the "2000" rolling mill, etc., were commissioned. At the Kobra aluminium factory the fourth electrolysis line (25,000 tons of aluminium per annum) and a line turning out hardened sheet (20,000 tons per year) were put into operation. The first stage of Calcutta's underground railway was commissioned. Construction of the Vindhya-chal thermal power station (capacity 1,260 MW) is under way. Delivery of equipment for the Jhanjra mine (scheduled output 2.8 million tons) was completed and sinking of two vertical shafts begun. Equipment was supplied for the Tipong mine. The repair of idle and low-productive wells continued, eleven of them were repaired during the year; drilling of the Bodra-2 prospecting hole was under way; seismic prospecting in the states of Tripura and West Bengal continued. Detailed designs for the Nigahi and Mukunda open-cast collieries (capacities 14 and 12 million

tons of coal per year respectively) were submitted, discussed and adopted. Industrial cooperation between Soviet organizations and Indian mechanical engineering works constructed with the USSR's assistance proceeded as usual. In 1984 the Ranchi heavy mechanical engineering works and the Durgapur factory manufacturing mining equipment supplied the USSR with 7,400 tons of various equipment.

With *Iraq* agreements were signed in 1984 on the further development of economic and technical cooperation envisaging assistance in constructing, on contract terms, thermal power stations (capacities 1,200 MW and 800 MW) and a hydro-engineering complex on the Euphrates in the Baghdad region comprising a dam and a hydro-electric power station (capacity 300 to 400 MW) and a central section of the main Tigris-Euphrates collector to the design elaborated by a Soviet organization. In October 1984 there was the spanning of the river Euphrates at the site of the hydro-engineering complex in the Hadithah region. Construction and assembly of the Mishahda-Karh petroleum product pipeline was completed; grain elevators in Kirkuk, Samawah and Zaho were put into operation and completion certificates issued. Grain receiving facilities at the Tikrit, Kirkuk and Rabiya elevators started their guaranteed period of operation.

Work at such cooperation projects as the dam included in the hydro-power engineering complex on the Euphrates in the Hadithah region, the canal connecting lake Tharthar to the Tigris (length 65 km) and the Falluja barrage dam on the Euphrates continued, as well as drilling at the Western Qurna oil deposits.

In *Iran* Soviet organizations were constructing, on general contract terms, the Isfahan thermal power station (800 MW). In September 1984 its first power unit was commissioned. Last year construction of the Azne and Neke grain elevators was completed; they were put into a guaranteed operation, and the elevators at Semnan and Jeroft into permanent use.

Soviet organizations continued giving technical assistance in expanding the Isfahan iron-and-steel works and constructing large-panel house-building complexes. Such complexes, each able to produce 175,000 sq.m of living area per year were commissioned in Kerman and Mashhad. At the Isfahan iron-and-steel works the continuous steel casting plant No. 4, an oxygen turbo-compressor, a pump house and other projects of the first stage for increasing its capacity up to 1.9 million tons of steel per year were put into use and its "500" rolling mill tested in the hot working

regime. Great volumes of equipment were supplied for expanding the Ramin thermal power station from 630 up to 1,260 MW in Ahvaz. Soviet specialists helped operate the Isfahan iron-and-steel works, exploit iron ore and coal mines and conduct geological prospecting for solid minerals to ensure the works' normal operation.

In *Kampuchea* the following projects were completed: the Pnom-Penh Higher Technological Institute (restoration) for 1,000 students, the main centre for training the country's technical staff, the first stages of an agricultural institute and a vocational school, diesel electric power stations in Pnom-Penh and Kompong Cham. Hevea plantations covering 10,000 hectares were restored (in 1984, the last 2,000 hectares). Assistance was given in restoring an agricultural institute and an enterprise processing rubber in Chup, in equipping the Kampong Som sea port and the Pnom-Penh river port, in establishing the state building organization, the Kampuchean hydrometeorological service, in growing cotton and setting up a rice seed-selection station.

In the *People's Democratic Republic of Yemen* great stress is placed on restoring water economy projects destroyed in spring 1982 due to a natural calamity. In 1984 the first stage of the Batis dam was completed and the Mudjahed dam put into operation. Construction of the Batis main canal is in full swing, the Fuad dam is being repaired and the Beizadj dam, the tenth and last one, reconstructed. Work on building the central repair shop in Aden continued. Assistance was given to further the agricultural development of irrigated lands in seven state farms. The yield of the main crops harvested there was 1.3-1.7 times higher than the country's average. First steps were made towards developing cattle breeding: two farms each for 1,600 sheep and goats were set up. The water and land resources scheme for the Hadramaut valley was completed.

Construction of a fish port and a thermal power station (50 MW) with a water desalination complex in Aden, a hospital in Shaykh Uthman (its first wards were opened), the Intersputnik ground space communication station, premises for the Yemen Socialist Party's Central Committee (being built with Czechoslovak participation) continued; oil and gas and solid minerals prospecting was conducted; assistance to the fishing industry, education, public health, television and radio broadcasting was rendered.

*Syria* received technical assistance in operating the Euphrates hydro-engineering complex. All hydro-electric generating sets at the hydro-electric power station operated



without the slightest fault and the station generated 1,800 million kWh of electricity. In November 1984 work on modernizing the hydro-engineering complex to raise the reservoir's normal headwater level by 4 metres was begun. Construction of the Al-Baath re-regulating hydro-engineering complex with a hydro-electric power station (capacity 80 MW) downstream the Euphrates hydro-engineering complex continued. Surveys prior to building the Tishrin thermal power station (capacity 400 MW), Syria's largest and second in power after the Euphrates hydro-electric power station in the Damascus region were started. Construction of the 220 kV Al Thawrah-Meskene power transmission line (85 km), the Tartous-Bānīyas power transmission line (35 km) and 220 kV ring power transmission lines around Aleppo (30 km) was completed. Soviet organizations continued giving assistance in extracting oil, in drilling bore-holes, in designing facilities and developing oil-fields. Since the beginning of cooperation 118 million tons of oil have been extracted, 8.4 million tons of it in 1984. The Homs-Aleppo railway (180 km) was put into permanent operation. The comprehensive construction of this railway link as well as the Damascus-Homs railway (208 km) was completed in late 1984, a year before the scheduled finishing date. At present 1,400 km of railways, built with Soviet assistance, are functioning. The volume of freight transported along these railways increased in 1984 by 26 per cent against that in 1983. Latakia port was expanded. All eleven wharfs (2,185 m), the first stage of the port's expansion, were built and port facilities erected. The Rabbue by-pass road (80 m) in Damascus was opened to traffic. Initial work started on building a railway bridge across the Euphrates near Abu-Kamal.

Development of farming lands on an area of 21,000 hectares in the Meskene region of which 17,600 hectares were allocated for growing cotton, sugar beet, wheat, barley, etc. (in 1983—15,200 hectares) continued. Thanks to the introduction of modern agricultural practices and technology by Soviet specialists the gross harvest and yields of the majority of crops are growing. Design and survey as well as construction of an irrigation system in the Western Meskene region (area 50,000 hectares) and a dam on the river Northern Khabur were under way.

Cooperation progressed in establishing and equipping six educational centres: in Aleppo (520 students) for turning out skilled railway workers, in Ruimelan (204 students) for instructing workers in the oil industry,

polytechnical centres in Homs and Dair-ez-Zor, in Damascus (125 students) for training specialists in the automotive industry. The latter was opened in September 1984. An industrial educational centre for 816 students in Latakia is under construction.

In *Bangladesh* construction of the 210,000 kW power unit No. 3 continued. The detail design for power unit No. 4 was adopted. In December 1984 an agreement was signed on cooperation in constructing power unit No. 5 at that electric power station which, when commissioned, will raise the Gorosal thermal power station's installed capacity to 740 MW. Assistance in geological prospecting for oil and gas was continued. Commercial exploitation of gas well No. 1 at the Kamta gas field, discovered with Soviet specialists' participation, began. Now its gas is supplied to Dacca.

In *Pakistan* at the Karachi iron-and-steel works (annual capacity 1.1 million tons of steel) in 1984 a "1700" hot-rolling mill (annual output 785,000 tons), 55,000 kW power unit No. 3 at the thermo-electric steam and water supply plant, blast furnace No. 2 (annual capacity 615,000 tons of pig iron) and a cold-rolling workshop were put into operation. In January 1985 this works was officially commissioned to its full rated capacity. With Soviet organizations' assistance on a contract basis power unit No. 3 at the Gud-du thermal power station underwent capital repair. Assistance was given in geological prospecting for oil and gas.

With *Turkey* a Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation was signed during the visit of N.A. Tikhonov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to that country which opened the possibilities for the planned study and development of promising trends of economic cooperation in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, power engineering, mechanical engineering, the mining and light industries, large-panel housing construction and the infrastructure. Also of great significance for increasing the cooperation volumes are: the signed long-term trade agreement for 1986-1990 and an agreement on the delivery of Soviet natural gas (5,000 million to 6,000 million cu.m annually) during 25 years to Turkey.

Construction of the Orhaneli thermal power station (210 MW), expansion of a petroleum refinery (from 5 million to 10 million tons of crude oil per year) in Aliaga and construction of a hydrogen peroxide factory in Bandirma (annual capacity 15,000 tons) continued. Deliveries of equip-

ment for a factory manufacturing galvanized metal structures in Gerede (annual productivity 20,000 tons) were completed. A factory turning out sodium bichromate and sulphide (annual capacities 25,000 and 8,500 tons respectively) in Mersin was put into use. During its commissioning T. Ozala, Turkey's Prime Minister, emphasized the importance of this enterprise and its up-to-date equipment for growth of the country's export potential. He also pointed out the short construction period (18 months) and the Soviet equipment's high quality. A hydro-engineering complex (volume 525 million cu.m) on the Akhuryan border river was put into operation to a provisional scheme, it will irrigate 52,000 hectares of the Soviet Union's and Turkey's lands.

Work on expanding the Iskenderun iron-and-steel works from one up to two million tons of steel per year continued. Construction-assembly, start-up and final adjustments as well as testing of equipment were carried out at all projects being expanded. In 1984, continuous billet casting mills Nos. 4 and 6 (capacities 400,000 tons of blooms each), 130-ton converter No. 3 (capacity 1,200,000 tons of steel), sintering machine No. 4 (800,000 tons of sinter per year), turbo-generator No. 3, "700" medium section beam mill (700,000 tons of rolled metal per year) were put into use. Turkey is taking measures to ensure the commissioning of main projects that will increase the works' output in the first half of 1985. A feasibility study on expanding the Iskenderun iron-and-steel works from two to four million tons of steel per year is now in progress.

*Jordan* is receiving assistance in electrification of the country's central regions (Amman and Irbid). In the *Yemen Arab Republic* the expansion of the Bajil cement factory from 50,000 tons up to 250,000 tons of cement per year was completed. Work on drawing up a scheme for using the San'a river basin's water resources including the design of two small irrigation dams will soon be finished. The USSR continues rendering assistance to *Nepal* in constructing a colophony and turpentine factory.

Economic and technical cooperation with the newly-free African countries is successfully progressing.

In *Algeria* in 1984, assistance on building the Ain-Zauya dam No. 3 on the river Moussa in Tizi-Uzu region came to an end. In that country main attention was concentrated on constructing the Alrar-Tin Fouye-Hassi Messaoud gas pipeline (653 km), the largest Soviet-Algerian cooperation

project the commitments on which are to be completed in 1985. Realization of a project on erecting on a contract basis a thermal power station (630 MW) in Jijel has begun. The Hammam Bugrara, Tilezdit, Bu Rahman and Gastu dams were designed and a general scheme for using the Annaba region's water resources drawn up.

The delivery of equipment and technical assistance in drilling exploratory wells for water and its extraction in Batna, Biskra, Setif and Uargla regions under a contract with the Tuggurt water engineering enterprise continued. Soviet specialists in 1984 drilled wells. The customer received 16 wells whose total output amounted to 698.3 litres per second.

Prospecting and surveying, on contract terms, were conducted in the railway's western section on the High Plateau.

In *Angola* oil tank farms (total capacity 18,200 cu.m) were put into commercial operation. An aerial photographic and topogeophysical survey was conducted. Equipment for three cotton-growing state farms was supplied. The delivery of building machinery and materials for restoring bridges and outfitting Angola's civil engineering organizations began. A hospital in Lubango is being built and equipped. Agreements on rendering Angola assistance in constructing a fish port, oil tank farms, hospitals, workshops for repairing and maintaining agricultural machinery, and other projects were signed. A general contract between Soviet, Brazilian and Angolan organizations on constructing the Capanda hydro-electric power station (500,000 kW) was signed. Survey of the hydro-electric power station's site will begin in 1985; the projects scheduled completion date is 1992. Large numbers of Soviet doctors, teachers, fishermen, power engineers, topographers and other specialists work in Angola.

In *Guinea* prospecting for bauxites was conducted, assistance in operating the national bauxite-mining-enterprise in Kindia given; the Naser Polytechnical Institute in Conakry underwent a capital reconstruction. Gratuitous aid was supplied to a microbiological and virological laboratory research and a scientific centre conducting joint researches into oceanography, solar physics and testing structural materials and items under tropical conditions. In the Monshon region a multibranch agricultural complex on an area of 2,400 hectares was formed.

*Egypt* continued receiving equipment and spares for the Helwan iron-and-steel complex, a by-product coke and a refractory plant, the country's interconnected power

system (including also the Aswan High Dam), cement factories in Tabbin and Asyut, a machine-tool plant and a forging and chain-making factory, a factory manufacturing antibiotics, a spinning mill as well as for the irrigation and development of 84,000 hectares of desert lands and supplying rural regions with electricity. A grog-burning workshop and tunnel-kiln No. 1 at the Tabbin refractory works, lime and clay quarries, a section for crushing lime and clay and a line for their transportation at a cement factory in Asyut were put into operation.

In the *Congo* the Yanga Kubenza polymetallic ore mine (70,000 tons of ore per year) is being constructed. Assistance in operating the Mfuati ore-dressing enterprise (capacity 30,000 tons of lead concentrate per year) was rendered and equipment for enlarging a maternity hospital from 100 to 200 beds in Brazzaville supplied.

In *Libya* Soviet organizations are constructing the 220 kV power transmission lines (total length 461 km) and are drilling for oil; they will soon complete the straight section of the Marsa El Brega-Misurata gas pipeline (length 570 km) and the geological mapping of an area covering nearly 100,000 square kilometres. Work on all projects is on a contract basis with payment in cash.

In *Madagascar* a flour mill complex complete with a grain elevator is under construction; a veterinary station and an experimental cereal-growing farm are being set up. Delivery of equipment for building the Ampitabe-Mahonoro-Marolambo motorway (255 km) is already under way. Geological prospecting for rare and non-ferrous metals is being conducted.

In *Mali* a gold-mining enterprise for working the Kalana deposit (a mine and an ore-dressing factory) is under construction; the first stage of the ore mine (25,000 tons of ore per annum) has already been put into operation. A 120 km power transmission line from Selingue to Kalana is being erected.

*Mozambique* receives assistance in extracting coal from the Moatize deposit, in the comprehensive development of cotton growing in the Nampula province where three state cotton-growing farms are being formed, in operating and modernizing an enterprise manufacturing tantalum concentrates in the Morrueira deposit and a factory turning out agricultural implements in Beira, in prospecting for oil and gas, in developing the fishing industry (delivery of trawlers, setting up of fishery support bases), in estab-

lishing two depots for repairing agricultural machinery, in drilling for water in the Gaza province and in equipping four new vocational schools and a polytechnical school.

In *Nigeria*, construction of the Ajaokuta iron-and-steel works (output 1.3 million tons of steel per year), with the fulfilling of assembly and special construction work on general contract terms, continued. Erection of all main workshops is in full swing. A "320" small-section mill and the "150" wire-rod mill were put in operation and have passed their guarantee tests. An iron-and-steel works' educational complex comprising a technical school for 675 students and an educational centre for 1,400 students is being set up.

In *Tunisia* the Djoumine-Medjerda canal (length 38 km) is being constructed, the national technical institute is being expanded and a dam on the river Sedjenan which includes the Sedjenan-Djoumine water pipeline designed. In October 1984 the ceremonial inauguration of the Rezala river dam took place. The USSR began rendering assistance in constructing the Sidi-el-Berrak hydro-engineering complex on the Zuara river and three small dams on the rivers Tin, Duimis and Mellah. The said hydro-engineering projects are an integral part of the overall plan for using North Tunisia's water resources elaborated on the basis of Soviet organizations' designs envisaging the transfer of the northern regions' excess waters to the country's eastern and south-eastern regions, i.e. to regions suffering acute water deficits where the water required for irrigation and water supply is needed to ensure the further development of all Tunisia's economy.

*Uganda* received equipment for the Buzitema training centre, (with its own 500 hectare farm). A protocol on rendering assistance in constructing two or three dairies, five or six cold-storage warehouses for foodstuffs, a central veterinary laboratory with branches in different regions, in equipping road-building teams and organizing housing construction was signed.

With *Ethiopia* in September 1984 a Long-term Programme for Economic and Technical Cooperation was signed envisaging, in particular, large-scale cooperation in agriculture and other key economic sectors. Last August the Nazeret tractor assembly works where from units and parts supplied by the Soviet Union the MTZ-80/82 tractors are assembled (1,000 tractors per year) was officially commissioned. Construction of the Melka Wakana thermal power station (153 MW) and a 225-km power transmission line continued. Surveys and prospecting for oil and gas in the

Ogaden region are in progress. Gratuitous aid has been rendered for the survey and design of an earth dam on the river Alvero, for the creation of an irrigation system needed to develop 10,000 hectares of lands in Gambela region and for drawing up a comprehensive scheme that will utilize water and land resources in the Baro-Akobo basin to the utmost. Deliveries of equipment and materials for expanding the Assab petroleum refinery were completed. Assistance was rendered in organizing mechanized exploitation of gold deposits, in constructing commercial cold-storage warehouses, in setting up building, agricultural and industrial educational centres in six towns and in the gratuitous drilling of wells for water.

Effective assistance in constructing complete projects was also given to other developing countries in Africa.

In *Ghana* the construction of a factory manufacturing large-panel ferro-concrete elements (sufficient for building 70,000 sq.m of living area per year) in Accra will soon be finished. In *Guinea-Bissau* water wells are being drilled and searches made for local building materials. In the *Republic of Cape Verde* equipment for constructing the Palmeira port on Sal island is being delivered. *Tanzania* is receiving assistance in setting up a secondary technical educational establishment for training builders, electricians, mechanics, etc. in Mbeya and two state farms growing maize and cotton. In *Morocco* geological surveys and prospecting as well as a feasibility study of the Meskala phosphorite deposit are under way.

The USSR's economic and technical cooperation with Latin American countries is expanding. In *Brasil* in 1984 a factory manufacturing ethanol (30,000 litres per day) in Uberlandia (Minas Gerais state) was put into operation.

In *Nicaragua* in 1984 an educational centre in Managua for training power engineers, a polytechnical educational centre in Leon, two departments for training road transport and communications workers which are under the auspices of Managua's educational centres and five laboratories of the engineering faculty in the National Autonomous University in Managua were opened. Soviet and Cuban organizations are helping build a large oil-tank farm, two radio stations and an Intersputnik space communication station.

In 1984 cooperation with European capitalist countries through the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations proceeded further.

Capacities of enterprises and other projects constructed in the postwar period, being constructed or to be constructed in foreign countries with USSR technical assistance, as of January 1, 1985

	TOTAL		including:			
	under agreements	including those commissioned	European socialist countries		developing countries*	
			under agreements	including those commissioned	under agreements	including those commissioned
Electric power stations (installed capacity), mln kW	102.9	53.4	64.9	34.6	30.2	13.5
Coal (extraction), mln t	162.3	54.4	58.6	18.3	86.5	18.9
Pig iron, mln t	57.3	38.5	20.0	13.6	27.1	14.6
Steel, mln t	70.2	46.7	28.7	19.4	30.2	16.0
Rolled ferrous metals, mln t	68.8	41.9	40.1	24.2	24.7	13.8
Oil (refining), mln t	86.4	61.7	55.5	40.5	29.5	19.8
Mineral fertilizers, '000 t	3,592	3,262	2,042	1,892	1,400	1,220
Synthetic rubber, '000 t	291	201	276	186	—	—
Metallurgical, mining, press-forging, lifting-and-conveying equipment, '000 t	279.5	259.5	8.0	8.0	191.5	171.5
Tractors, '000	103	83	30	30	31	11
Cement, mln t	22.8	11.9	15.8	8.3	6.7	3.4
Large-panel house-building, '000 sq.m	11,241	6,001	6,445	4,835	4,796	1,185
Length of railways, km	6,118	5,652	487	487	5,631	5,165
Length of motor-ways, km	2,694	2,150	—	—	2,694	2,150
Grain elevators (capacity), '000 t	2,448	2,194	320	307	2,128	1,887
Irrigation and development of lands, '000 hectares	2,206	1,743	—	—	2,206	1,743

\* In accordance with the UN classification the group of the developing countries includes the following socialist countries: the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the Mongolian People's Republic.



To *Greece* technical aid in constructing the Agios Dimitrios thermal power station (two 300 MW power units) was given and a feasibility study on constructing a gas pipeline in Greece carried out. In May 1984 a contract on building a champagne winery (five million bottles per year) to a Soviet design was signed. In July 1984 Tsvetmetpromexport and the Greek Bank for Industrial Development signed a General Agreement on constructing an alumina factory (output 600,000 tons per year).

With the *Republic of Cyprus* a Protocol was signed in October 1984 on cooperation in building water engineering projects in Cyprus such as: Kariotis (Nicosia's water supply) and the Southern Project (transfer of excess waters from the south-western to the dry south-eastern regions). Under this Protocol Selkhozpromexport and Cyprus' Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources signed a contract for a feasibility study of the Kariotis project.

As to *Finland* the main spheres of economic and technical cooperation are still the traditional ones: power engineering, ferrous metallurgy, construction of a gas pipeline, and geology. Cooperation with Finnish firms in undertaking projects in third countries was furthered. Soviet organizations and Finnish firms began realizing certain projects envisaged in the Long-term Programme. Signed were contracts on modernizing an oxygen converter shop with the delivery of larger volume converters for the Raahe iron-and-steel works, on constructing a coke by-product shop in the said works, on building a new 250-km section of the country's trunk gas pipeline, and, on undertaking lithochemical researches of the Vihanti ore deposit.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

## SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE: JANUARY-MARCH 1985

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 6, May 85 [not paginated]

[Text]

## Soviet Foreign Trade by Groups of Countries

(mln rubles)

		January—March				January—March	
		1984	1985			1984	1985
TOTAL	Turnover	33117,8	32478,7	Industrial	Turnover	9199,1	8387,6
	Export	17136,0	15612,7	capitalist	Export	4632,4	3339,3
	Import	15981,8	16866,0	countries	Import	4566,7	5048,3
Socialist	Turnover	19736,5	20118,5				
countries	Export	10119,1	10110,2				
	Import	9617,4	10008,3				
including:							
CMEA	Turnover	18158,0	18277,5	Developing	Turnover	4182,2	3972,6
member	Export	9315,3	9254,7	countries	Export	2384,5	2163,2
countries	Import	8842,7	9022,8		Import	1797,7	1809,4

## Soviet Foreign Trade by Countries\*

(mln rubles)

Countries		January—March		Countries		January—March	
		1984	1985			1984	1985
EUROPE:				Hungary	Turnover	2127,1	2219,6
Austria	Turnover	397,3	307,7		Export	1122,5	1105,9
	Export	167,4	141,7		Import	1004,6	1113,7
	Import	229,9	166,0				
Belgium	Turnover	335,3	327,3	German	Turnover	3689,0	3735,0
	Export	193,8	178,2	Democratic	Export	1753,7	1818,9
	Import	141,5	149,1	Republic	Import	1935,3	1916,1
Bulgaria	Turnover	2921,3	2859,1	Greece	Turnover	115,2	133,6
	Export	1516,5	1422,9		Export	83,6	106,8
	Import	1404,8	1436,2		Import	31,6	26,8
Great Britain	Turnover	490,1	417,2	Denmark	Turnover	96,2	81,8
	Export	306,9	251,6		Export	60,1	60,6
	Import	183,2	165,6		Import	36,1	21,2
				West Berlin	Turnover	109,9	76,2
					Export	93,3	42,2
					Import	16,6	34,0

\* The countries are given in the Russian alphabetical order.

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Countries		January—March		Countries		January—March	
		1984	1985			1984	1985
Ireland	Turnover	21,7	19,4	Czechoslovakia	Turnover	3031,2	3095,6
	Export	5,3	7,4		Export	1563,2	1545,4
	Import	16,4	12,0		Import	1468,0	1550,2
Iceland	Turnover	36,8	27,1	Switzerland	Turnover	172,2	205,5
	Export	9,1	4,7		Export	82,7	71,2
	Import	27,7	22,4		Import	89,5	134,3
Spain	Turnover	118,4	154,6	Sweden	Turnover	195,5	162,0
	Export	53,8	47,4		Export	128,9	82,8
	Import	64,6	107,2		Import	66,6	79,2
Italy	Turnover	1015,0	689,6	Yugoslavia	Turnover	1269,3	1391,0
	Export	720,6	388,1		Export	631,2	613,1
	Import	294,4	301,5		Import	638,1	777,9
Liechtenstein	Turnover	8,6	3,8				
	Export	0,7	0,6				
	Import	7,9	3,2				
Luxembourg	Turnover	3,4	6,0	ASIA:			
	Export	2,1	2,2	Afghanistan	Turnover	224,6	274,9
	Import	1,3	3,8		Export	141,8	183,6
Malta	Turnover	1,1	3,4		Import	82,8	91,3
	Export	0	0,4	Bangladesh	Turnover	6,2	14,8
	Import	1,1	3,0		Export	6,0	5,8
Netherlands	Turnover	429,8	170,4		Import	0,2	9,0
	Export	371,4	102,9	Burma	Turnover	0,1	0,2
	Import	58,4	67,5		Export	0	0
Norway	Turnover	55,7	24,5		Import	0,1	0,2
	Export	28,6	9,6	Vietnam	Turnover	334,9	355,2
	Import	27,1	14,9		Export	263,0	283,1
Poland	Turnover	2631,8	2654,4		Import	71,9	72,1
	Export	1368,8	1460,3	India	Turnover	597,2	731,9
	Import	1263,0	1194,1		Export	339,3	375,7
Portugal	Turnover	18,1	36,9		Import	257,9	356,2
	Export	14,6	20,2	Indonesia	Turnover	14,6	32,5
	Import	3,5	16,7		Export	1,2	1,9
Romania	Turnover	950,8	911,1		Import	13,4	30,6
	Export	498,6	426,1	Jordan	Turnover	8,4	1,9
	Import	452,2	485,0		Export	8,3	1,9
Federal Republic of Germany	Turnover	1807,4	1534,5		Import	0,1	0
	Export	1024,2	731,1	Iraq	Turnover	238,2	206,5
	Import	783,2	803,4		Export	62,9	54,2
Finland	Turnover	1094,6	915,6		Import	175,3	152,3
	Export	425,3	392,1	Iran	Turnover	81,8	84,1
	Import	669,3	523,5		Export	74,1	54,4
France	Turnover	1044,5	915,7		Import	7,7	29,7
	Export	572,0	406,9				
	Import	472,5	508,8				

Countries		January—March		Countries		January—March	
		1984	1985			1984	1985
Yemen Arab Republic	Turnover	2,7	5,8	Thailand	Turnover	7,6	4,4
	Export	2,7	5,8		Export	2,6	2,0
	Import	0	0		Import	5,0	2,4
People's Democratic Republic of Yemen	Turnover	29,2	37,4	Turkey	Turnover	40,1	63,9
	Export	28,4	34,9		Export	30,2	29,4
	Import	0,8	2,5		Import	9,9	34,5
Kampuchea	Turnover	18,0	13,8	Philippines	Turnover	14,9	9,3
	Export	16,4	12,7		Export	0,8	0,7
	Import	1,6	1,1		Import	14,1	8,6
Cyprus	Turnover	6,7	2,3	Sri Lanka	Turnover	18,1	19,5
	Export	4,3	1,4		Export	0,8	1,2
	Import	2,4	0,9		Import	17,3	18,3
China	Turnover	134,0	229,9	Japan	Turnover	714,6	778,0
	Export	77,1	115,1		Export	195,0	207,8
	Import	56,9	114,8		Import	519,6	570,2
Korean People's Democratic Republic	Turnover	157,7	196,7	AFRICA:			
	Export	78,3	104,8	Algeria	Turnover	42,0	77,1
	Import	79,4	91,9		Export	40,7	30,4
Kuwait	Turnover	1,0	1,1		Import	1,3	46,7
	Export	0,8	1,0	Angola	Turnover	17,5	27,0
	Import	0,2	0,1		Export	16,3	26,4
Laos	Turnover	17,5	23,4		Import	1,2	0,6
	Export	17,2	22,5	Ivory Coast	Turnover	39,5	56,6
	Import	0,3	0,9		Export	0	1,5
Lebanon	Turnover	14,5	10,4		Import	39,5	55,1
	Export	13,4	6,4	Ghana	Turnover	0,3	6,7
	Import	1,1	4,0		Export	0,3	0,1
Malaysia	Turnover	59,5	44,3		Import	0	6,6
	Export	3,9	3,1	Guinea	Turnover	22,5	20,2
	Import	55,6	41,2		Export	8,8	10,1
Mongolian People's Republic	Turnover	346,1	344,7		Import	13,7	10,1
	Export	279,5	275,8	Egypt	Turnover	161,9	139,5
	Import	66,6	68,9		Export	65,6	63,1
Nepal	Turnover	5,0	4,9		Import	96,3	76,4
	Export	4,5	3,9	Cameroun	Turnover	2,4	22,6
	Import	0,5	1,0		Export	1,1	1,1
Pakistan	Turnover	33,4	30,4		Import	1,3	21,5
	Export	23,1	13,0	People's Republic of the Congo	Turnover	1,3	1,1
	Import	10,3	17,4		Export	1,1	0,7
Saudi Arabia	Turnover	93,6	76,3		Import	0,2	0,4
	Export	5,9	4,2	Liberia	Turnover	0,7	0,2
	Import	87,7	72,1		Export	0,7	0,2
Singapore	Turnover	14,9	21,7		Import	0	0
	Export	7,0	1,4	Libya	Turnover	266,9	230,7
	Import	7,9	20,3		Export	20,7	10,6
Syria	Turnover	127,8	110,7		Import	246,2	220,1
	Export	66,3	73,4				
	Import	61,5	37,3				

Countries		January—March		Countries		January—March	
		1984	1985			1984	1985
Morocco	Turnover	19,8	17,5	Canada	Turnover	89,1	89,8
	Export	7,6	3,4		Export	3,2	6,0
	Import	12,2	14,1		Import	85,9	83,8
Mozambique	Turnover	41,4	28,5	Colombia	Turnover	19,1	0,4
	Export	40,7	28,4		Export	1,5	0,4
	Import	0,7	0,1		Import	17,6	0
Nigeria	Turnover	66,3	37,0	Cuba	Turnover	2125,8	2102,8
	Export	52,2	26,5		Export	949,5	916,3
	Import	14,1	10,5		Import	1176,3	1186,5
Sudan	Turnover	0	1,0	Mexico	Turnover	5,5	4,1
	Export	0	1,0		Export	0,2	0,9
	Import	0	0		Import	5,3	3,2
Sierra Leone	Turnover	0	10,7	Nicaragua	Turnover	17,7	57,4
	Export	0	0		Export	17,4	57,4
	Import	0	10,7		Import	0,3	0
Tanzania	Turnover	2,4	1,3	Panama	Turnover	2,8	2,8
	Export	0,9	0,7		Export	2,8	2,8
	Import	1,5	0,6		Import	-	-
Tunisia	Turnover	7,7	1,9	Peru	Turnover	11,9	15,9
	Export	7,1	1,6		Export	4,1	2,1
	Import	0,6	0,3		Import	7,8	13,8
Ethiopia	Turnover	42,6	90,2	United States of America	Turnover	663,5	1080,2
	Export	42,5	83,3		Export	83,4	75,1
	Import	0,1	6,9		Import	580,1	1005,1
AMERICAS:				Uruguay	Turnover	18,3	6,3
Argentina	Turnover	329,1	307,4		Export	0,3	0,3
	Export	6,0	11,9		Import	18,0	6,0
	Import	323,1	295,5	AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA:			
Bolivia	Turnover	1,9	0	Australia	Turnover	141,9	202,8
	Export	0,5	0		Export	5,0	1,3
	Import	1,4	-		Import	136,9	201,5
Brazil	Turnover	203,1	81,8	New Zealand	Turnover	23,2	23,7
	Export	42,3	24,4		Export	1,4	0,4
	Import	160,8	57,4		Import	21,8	23,3

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WESTERN EUROPE

SPANISH DEBATE OVER U.S. BASES, NATO, EEC MEMBERSHIP VIEWED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 17, 19-25 Apr 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Vladimir Pavlovich Chernyshev, PRAVDA's correspondent in Spain:  
"Spain at a Dangerous Turning Point"]

[Text] For the third year, an acute struggle has been going on in Spain on a chief foreign-policy question--on its attitude toward NATO into which the country was drawn in 1982 by the government, consisting of representatives of a rightist bourgeois party--the Union of the Democratic Center. Millions of Spaniards expressed their opinion in the same year on the parliamentary elections, as a result of which the Spanish Socialist Workers Party came to power on an anti-NATO slogan. But the government of the Socialists, yielding to the pressure of rightists in the country and the pressure of NATO member states, first of all the United States, is now making a marked departure from its preelection promises. This deeply worries the popular masses, which are intensifying a movement for the government to actively promote in its foreign policy the work of strengthening genuine security, peace and cooperation on the European continent.

The spring march on the American air base at Torrejon-de-Ardoz near Madrid was carried out for the fifth time this year. But at no time previously was the column of demonstrators as large as on Sunday, 24 March. Almost 100,000 persons with banners, slogans and placards walked 12 kilometers separating the Madrid district of Canillejos from Torrejon in order to demand the elimination of American military bases located on Spanish territory.

"NATO--no!", "Down with the bases!", "Nuclear missiles out of Europe!", "For a policy of neutrality!"--the demonstrators chanted. "Reagan--persona non grata in Madrid"--was written on many banners in connection with the planned visit of the President of the United States to Spain in the beginning of May.

The march ended with a meeting in the square in front of the building of the municipal administration of Torrejon. At it, a joint statement of all political and public organizations taking part in the manifesto was read

aloud. "The presence of American bases on our territory," it stated in the document, "is not only a systematic violation of sovereignty but a constant threat, especially in the light of recently available information unmasking the intentions of the United States to place nuclear weapons in Spain." The authors of the statement protested against Reagan's visit to Spain and called for a mass demonstration on the eve of the arrival of the chief of the American administration in Madrid.

Among the participants of the march were the leader of the leftist wing of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (SSWP), chairman of the Commission for Affairs of Justice and Internal Affairs of the Congress of Deputies Pablo Castellano, Socialist deputy Carlos Lopez Riano and the senator from the Socialist Party Francisca Canillo. But they took part in the demonstration, as they said, "on an individual basis." The Spanish Socialist Workers Party as a political organization refused to join the march.

#### "A Convenient Position"

Several years ago, the Socialists also took an active part in such demonstrations. Felipe Gonzalez, the leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, who at that time was opposed to the government of the Union of the Democratic Center, then often made passionate speeches at meetings in defense of peace, for disarmament, against the nuclear danger and against Spain's participation in NATO. In the summer of 1981, when the right-of-center cabinet of Leopold Calvo Sotelo initiated concrete steps to push through the parliament the decision of Spain to join NATO, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party published a declaration in which it pointed out that socialists intended to use all possible means to hinder such a perfectly crude error and not to permit the Spanish people to pay for the tragic consequences of such a step. The then deputy general secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party Alfonso Gerra declared that Spain would be transformed into a colony of the United States in international policy and would become subject to nuclear peril.

The 29th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party declared itself against Spain joining NATO, noting in the adopted document that participation in the North Atlantic bloc did not guarantee the territorial integrity of Spain, did not provide for its needs in the field of security and defense and increased the danger of nuclear destruction for the Spanish people.

Has the character of the North Atlantic bloc since so changed that it would today defend with the same energy the membership of Spain in it? No. Furthermore, NATO, by initiating the installation of new American nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries, is moving closer to the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. What actually did change was this position of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party following its onset to power as the result of a victory in the 1982 parliamentary elections.

In the course of debates in the Congress of Deputies held in October of last year, the chairman of the government and general secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party Felipe Gonzalez now clearly and definitely was in favor of Spain remaining in NATO. It would hardly be possible to say that the

change in the point of view of the leadership of the Socialists was an unexpected one for Spaniards. Since the time Felipe Gonzalez occupied the position of head of government, the tone of his statements relative to NATO has gradually but steadily become more moderate and cautious. At first his statements were vague and basically limited to a promise to conduct a referendum in which the Spanish people would give their opinion of the country's participation in NATO. But time passed and in the statements of the head of government there more frequently turned up the thesis of "allied commitments" and the "need of Spain's contribution to the defense of the West."

Since the beginning of last year the position of the Socialist cabinet began to manifest itself more definitely. In the spring, F. Gonzalez in one of his radio interviews uttered a sentence on the basis of which it was possible to conclude regarding his opinion relative to the country's participation in the Western bloc. "Spain," he said, "belongs to NATO, but is not integrated in it in a military sense. In my view, we have a suitable position." Thus, if a position is suitable, then is it worthwhile to change it? He expressed himself somewhat more clearly at a press conference held 18 May on the occasion of the FRG Chancellor H. Kohl's arrival in Spain. "When the country signs the Washington treaty," he declared, "it becomes a member of the Atlantic alliance and from this there stem a number of rights and mutual obligations among the allies.... As for the articles of the Washington treaty, only two positions exist: either they are accepted or they are not accepted."

Sometime later at a press conference held at the end of a visit to Madrid by Sweden's Prime Minister O. Palme, F. Gonzalez made his position more precise relative to the question of the possibility of Spain conducting a policy of neutrality. "There are some who would like," he said, "to see Spain neutral in the manner of Sweden, but the Spanish situation does not resemble the Swedish." In what way it differed, the Spanish prime minister did not specify.

The position of the government in regard to NATO was evaluated in the press by a rather caustic formula: "Neither yes nor no, but quite the contrary."

A few days before the October debates in Parliament, F. Gonzalez declared in an interview that he understood those who criticized the government for its ambiguity in regard to NATO and that this criticism was valid. "Actually," he said, "I have a formed opinion which I am in no hurry to state since in addition I am not interested in this from a political point of view. I think that the citizens will be able to understand me. Only those who are in a hurry do not understand me."

It ought to be said that F. Gonzalez and his government have been criticized for their ambiguity primarily from the left. Leftist forces thought that by delaying the holding of the referendum, the Socialist cabinet was deviating from fulfilling one of the chief points of their preelection program. Rightists, being zealous Atlantists, sometimes verbally criticized the government for its ambiguity in regard to the question of Spain's participation in NATO. But they criticized from their point of view. In



their heart they hoped and in fact counted on the fact that time would play into their hands, that the leadership of the Socialists would "change its mind" and, after gradually preparing a favorable soil, would backtrack from the decisions of its 29th congress. They placed their hopes to a large extent on the pressure which was being determinedly exerted on Spain by its Atlantic allies, first of all the United States.

In a word, when F. Gonzalez from the rostrum of the Congress of Deputies came out for Spain remaining in NATO, the country's public opinion was prepared by the entire course of events, and the evolution of the point of view of the government's chairman and leader of the Socialists was quite prepared for a 180-degree turn of the leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party into a direction opposite to the decisions of the 29th congress of the Socialist Party.

"The decision to remain in NATO announced by Gonzales in the course of parliamentary debates on the position of the country," the Madrid journal CAMBIO-16 wrote in this connection, "did not surprise, if one speaks of its content, either the national information media nor foreign media. Despite the fact that Gonzalez did not raise the question of continuing participation in NATO till the meeting of the Council of Ministers held on the eve of the debates, the chairman of the government from the first day of his appearance at Moncloa (residence of the government--V.Ch.) had already decided what his position would be."

The position turned out to be pro-Atlantist. It was stated "for the first time clearly and unequivocally" from the rostrum of the Congress of Deputies by F. Gonzalez in the course of the October debates. He proposed to start a dialogue with other parties represented in Parliament in order to reach a consensus (general agreement) relative to Spain's participation in NATO and also in regard to a number of other questions of the country's foreign policy.

Many political observers considered this step of the cabinet as an attempt of the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party to find a way out of a difficult position which it had gotten into, squeezed between the decision of its 29th congress and the desire to leave the country in NATO and also to spread to some degree among other parties the responsibility for adoption of such a vitally important decision. The leader of the rightist Popular Alliance immediately made participation in the consultations on the question of NATO dependent on the government's agreement to conduct similar discussions on other important topics. Sometime later, the leadership of the Popular Alliance worked out its alternative 10 points in which in particular it spoke out against carrying out the referendum and advanced the demand on Spain joining the military organization of NATO. As for attempts at a consensus on the question of NATO, Manuel Fraga, the leader of the rightists, declared, Gonzalez should first of all convince his own party in this regard rather than the opposition.

It was no mere chance that the leader of the rightists "advised" Gonzalez to first attain support in the Spanish Socialist Workers Party. The fact is that for the most part, especially at the level of local organizations, the Socialists, which prior to this had gone tens of times to anti-NATO

demonstrations, collected signatures on a document demanding the country quit the North Atlantic bloc and conducted an active campaign for a general referendum and were now against Spain belonging to NATO. This was especially displayed in the days preceding the 30th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, which was held in December of last year.

#### Acute Struggle in the "Home of the Socialists"

Preparing for it, the Socialists held provincial conferences in September at which the preliminary draft was discussed of the theses prepared by a commission of the Federal Committee of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (Central Committee of the Party). The conferences were faced with the task of commenting on the proposed documents so that their opinion would be taken into consideration in the text of the final draft. In addition to discussions on economic policy, including the problem of unemployment, the question of participation in NATO was chief in the course of the discussion. In many provinces, delegates of the conferences were by a majority vote for Spain getting out of NATO and also for the party calling upon the population to vote for it in the referendum. As later stated by representatives of leftist Socialists, on the whole 57 percent of the delegates at the preliminary conferences were for Spain quitting NATO. This assertion caused a dispute with the party's leadership according to whose estimates "only" 34 percent of the delegates voted for this proposition.

On the basis of the results of the discussion a final draft was composed at the preliminary conferences of propositions for the congress. But it underwent insignificant changes. Leftist Socialists in particular accused the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party of not including in the document the opinion of the majority of the party's members on the question of NATO. In the draft of the propositions which were submitted for discussion at the 30th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party the subject of NATO was practically bypassed. This point was formulated by the authors of the document in a general form: "Keeping in mind that European security affects us directly and that now no conditions exist which could justify a policy of self-isolation of Spain, the contribution of Spain to European security is important and necessary." The policy of Spain, it was pointed out subsequently, "must combine distribution of responsibility in the field of Western security with political and economic cooperation in the European arena."

At repeated provincial conferences, although they were held after the parliamentary debates when the position of the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party became more than clear, the acuteness of discussion of the question of NATO was in no way reduced. Moreover, many delegates, on assessing the proposals of F. Gonzalez as a manifest departure from the decisions of the 29th party congress, took an active anti-NATO position to counterbalance the government. Thus, according to data of the Madrid newspaper DIARIO-16, of the 50 Spanish provinces, in 28 Socialists were at the conferences against NATO, in 20 supported the party's leadership and in 2 could not reach an agreement. "The results of the provincial and regional conferences of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party," the newspaper noted, "confirm the fact that the appeal of Gonzalez for a consensus to the effect that Spain would remain in NATO found a poor response in his ranks."

In December, as one might expect, sharp discussions flared up concerning the question of NATO at the 30th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party. One can judge of the disposition of forces at the congress solely on the fact that at a meeting of the working commissions examining drafts of foreign-policy resolutions the "official line" was supported by 60 delegates, while 55 were for the country leaving the Atlantic bloc. And while at the plenary session, an insignificant majority of votes adopted the document proposed by the party's leadership, the congress demonstrated once more that the Socialists were far from unanimous in regard to the question of NATO.

The policy aimed at achieving withdrawal from the Western bloc was practically headed at the congress by Nicolas Redondo, the general Secretary of the Universal Union of Workers (UUV)--a trade-union association aimed at the Socialists. It should be kept in mind that at the last UUV congress as at the congress of the Union of Socialist Youth (they were held before the 30th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party), resolutions were adopted against Spain's participation in NATO and for conducting an active campaign among the population in favor of the country's withdrawal from the bloc. Thus the trade-union and the youth organization of Socialists found themselves in a rather ticklish position: on the one hand, their leaders had to agree on the decisions of their congresses and, on the other, affiliation with the leadership of the Socialist Party required of them solidarity with the "new official line." But both Nicolas Redondo and General Secretary of the Union of Socialist Youth Javier de Paz confirmed--both in the course of the 30th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party and after it--the positions taken previously by their organizations.

The fact that doing this was not at all simple is attested to by a recent speech of N. Redondo at a meeting of the UUV Federal Committee at which he again stated his negative attitude to the country's participation in the Atlantic bloc and expressed the conviction that this problem would not be removed even by the holding of a general referendum in Spain should it be held. "It would be silly to think," N. Redondo declared, "that no pressure would be exerted by the United States for the purpose of not only having Spain remain in NATO but also having it enter the military organization of the bloc."

There are people in the Socialist Party, he noted, who say that a change in the position of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party with respect to Spain's participation in NATO is allegedly due to a change in circumstances, but the party's criteria which went into effect in full contradiction of the resolutions of the latter and the 32nd Congress of the Universal Union of Workers, which was in favor of Spain's withdrawal from NATO. This change in the Socialist Party was due to a number of other reasons and the fear of what might occur if the December congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party failed to vote for a rejection of the former position as well by the pressure "which some of those present here have felt exerted on them." Now the leadership of the Socialist Party according to N. Redondo is trying to convince first members of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party and then public opinion as a whole of the correctness of its pro-Atlantist position. But the

decisions of the last trade-union congress cannot be changed without the convocation of a new congress. However, N. Redondo emphasized, if such a congress of the UUW were held, it would again be for Spain leaving NATO.

As we see in the "house of the Socialists" and now, after the congress, far from everyone shares the point of view of the leadership. This was acknowledged in a television interview by F. Gonzalez himself, who declared that "both a significant portion of the party and a large part of the country's population" were against Spain's participation in NATO. But in his opinion Spain's withdrawal from NATO at this time would create "deep distrust" toward it in Western Europe and upset the equilibrium in the international situation "with consequences that are difficult to foresee." In this connection, the Spanish press recalled that one of the arguments of the Socialists against Spain's entrance into the North Atlantic bloc was the assertion that expansion of NATO would upset the existing equilibrium in the world arena. If such is the case, a newspaper noted, then why would the return to the initial situation upset the balance of forces and for whom could the consequences in such a case turn out to be "difficult to foresee."

#### Maneuvers of the Atlantists Against the Referendum

When it comes to a general agreement with the other political forces of Spain, things are not quite that simple. If with the exception of leftist parties all the other political organizations represented in Parliament expressed agreement with the government's position in regard to NATO, opinions would still be split in regard to the planned general referendum.

From the Parliament's rostrum, F. Gonzalez confirmed his preelection promise to conduct a referendum and even named an approximate date--February 1986. But in the course of the first round of meetings of the head of the government with leaders of parties and parliamentary groups it became clear that both the chief opposition party--the Popular Alliance-- and several other political organizations were categorically against the referendum. They declared that the Spanish people through their authorized representatives in the highest legislative organ of the country had already resolved this problem and that it would make no sense to return to it. People from the street, unfamiliar with the fine points of the complex question, they asserted, are in no position to determine with all state responsibility whether it is in the interests of Spain to become the 16th member of NATO. A decisive portion of the supreme military command occupies such a position. General Garcia Conde expressed his opinion most clearly in this regard: "All the countries of Western Europe are threatened by the appearance of NATO. Our motherland faces a double threat: one common to all Western countries and another, which they do not have..., the referendum, which has created a threat to Spain's security. In discussions, high representatives of governments of friendly countries told me that it would be impossible to conduct a referendum because it would be impossible to ask citizens about such a topic. Knowledge of this topic is based on secrete information which cannot be the property of the street."

Shortly after the advent of the Socialists to power, many Spaniards thought that the referendum would be conducted shortly. But declaration of the date is constantly postponed and postponed. During this time the attitude of the

leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party has undergone certain changes in regard to the referendum itself. Whereas initially, the Socialists declared that they could call upon the population to vote for Spain's withdrawal from NATO, subsequently F. Gonzalez announced that the government would occupy a neutral position in this question and recently the head of the cabinet specified that he personally would call upon the voters to support Spain's participation in the North Atlantic bloc.

Political observers think that the results of the referendum would largely depend on formulation of the question in voting bulletins. It is one thing, he said, if the question is presented precisely and clearly: do you approve Spain's participation in NATO--yes or no? It is another if the question concerning NATO is tied to other problems. In the Spanish press there is no shortage of guesses concerning how cunningly the question might be put. Tens of variants are mentioned: "Do you support the government's foreign policy?", "Do you agree that Spain should remain in NATO without joining its military organization?", "Do you support participation in NATO with reduction of U.S. military bases in Spain?"--and many others in the same spirit.

Political observers believe that in general there is little chance that the matter would go as far as the referendum. "Plebescites are not called to be are lost," declared one well-known politician. As shown by public-opinion surveys, better than half of Spaniards intend to vote for Spain's withdrawal from NATO. This, of course, is well known to the government. In such a case would it deliberately go to defeat? Others say that there is still enough time and that for the remaining time, the partisans of Atlantism could carry out a wide-scale campaign in favor of NATO and shift the balance of the scale to their side. In any case, certain press organs are now determinedly attempting to convince readers that the number of opponents to Spain's participation in NATO is rapidly dwindling (even data of surveys are cited that were manifestly organized "on special request"). And, they say, it does not make sense to organize all these noisy anti-NATO demonstrations, marches and protests.

#### Workers Say "No" to NATO

But there are quite concrete data of another sort. In many cities and villages of Spain, at factories, plants and universities, spontaneous local referendums are now being conducted as a counterpoise to the long promised general referendum postponed to 1986. They have become a kind of demonstration of protest against the dragging out of national voting and against the government's position in the matter of the country belonging to NATO. In Catalonia alone, on the initiative of local antimilitary organizations, such referendums were held at 50 large enterprises. The character of these actions and the mood of rank-and-file Spaniards can be judged by the results obtained, for example, at two Madrid textile factories. At Triunfo, of all the participants, only 3 refrained, and there was not a single person who supported the country's participation in NATO. At Puente Factory, 96 percent of the workers, technicians and engineers voted against NATO.

Atlantists are now determinedly trying to "dissuade" the government from holding the referendum and even propose, so they believe, effective prescriptions with whose aid Socialists can painlessly get out of the impasse "into which they placed themselves with an unconsidered promise." What solution do the pro-NATO experts recommend? Something very simple: dissolution of Parliament and carrying out of ahead-of-schedule general elections. If the Spanish Socialist Workers Party wins again, the Socialist could say: the voters know our program which included in particular the proposal of participation in NATO and since the majority of the population has voted for us, it thereby supports our proposal to remain in the Western bloc. In other words, once you are at such a high level as parliamentary elections, conducting a referendum would make no sense.

But this so-called solution is intended as an extreme case. At the same time, the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party believes that if Spain, as is planned, succeeds in becoming a full-pledged member of the Common Market on 1 January 1986, this will exert a decisive influence on the results of the referendum.

Madrid made a request to enter the European Economic Community in July 1977 and after a year the parties engaged in practical discussions. Since then, hundreds of various kinds of meetings were held--from heads of states and governments to experts in different sectors of the economy. On a number of points, especially those such as agriculture, production and export of vegetables and fruits and olive oil and fishing, metallurgy and determination of the time of the transition period for Spain's adaptation to the conditions of the Common Market, sharp battles took place which more than once brought the talks to the verge of collapse. Drawing closer of the position was noted only toward autumn of last year.

#### Trading Organizations in the Reception Room of the Common Market

Madrid hoped that at the meeting of heads of states and governments of countries of the Common Market in the beginning of December in Dublin, the question of expansion of the European Economic Community would finally be resolved. The main subject of the disputes in Dublin were production of wine in countries of the "ten" and those consequences that would result for this sector with Spain's and Portugal's entrance (Spain produces 40 percent of all wine production of the Common Market). Despite disagreements on this question between Italy and France, the participants of the meeting succeeded in outlining a way of resolving it. But literally at the last minute, the Greek delegation declared that it would use the right of veto in all, even settled, questions until the problem of providing subsidies to Greece, Italy and the southern districts of France in the form of compensation for those losses which with the expansion of the Common Market these countries would suffer in the field of production of wine, olive oil, citrus and other agricultural crops, is positively resolved. Greece's demands significantly exceeded the amount that the European Economic Community was ready to pay it within the framework of the program of aid to the Mediterranean countries.

The next round of talks toward the end of January in Brussels ended in failure. Agreement could also not be reached initially at a meeting of foreign-affairs ministers of the European Economic Community toward the end of



March in Brussels. When it appeared that solution of the question was progressing to completion, at the last moment France raised an objection relative to the granting of licenses to Spanish fishing vessels for the right of fishing in the waters of the economic zone of the European Economic Community as well as for the right of importing Spanish wine into the countries of the Common Market.

Madrid was no in hurry. In official circles of the Spanish capital, it was clearly understood that if the question is not resolved by the end of March, this would mean its postponement to autumn at the very least and forgetting the thought of entering the Common Market in the designated time. For Madrid the question of the calendar has by no means a technical meaning. The fact is that it is no accident that the government of the Socialists postponed the referendum pertaining to the country's affiliation with NATO till February 1986. It hopes that by that time Spain will have in its hands the certificate of a member of the Common Market, which would serve to boost the trust of Spaniards of the international policy conducted by F. Gonzalez's cabinet, including the question of NATO.

Warnings addressed to the European Economic Community could be heard repeatedly: they said, if you do not open the door, the Spaniards, disenchanted with the unyielding character of the Common Market, would inevitably vote on the referendum in favor of the country's withdrawal from the North Atlantic bloc. This was even acknowledged at the Common Market itself. Officials of the "ten" came out a number of times with statements in which they sometimes directly linked the admission of Spain to the European Economic Community with the position of Madrid in regard to participation in NATO. No one sees an accidental coincidence in the fact that the talks between Madrid and the Common Market were at dead center until F. Gonzalez declared from the rostrum of the Congress of Deputies on the change of the Socialists' position on the question of NATO.

The last spurt on the marathon route of the talks was made by the parties at a special meeting the night of 29 March. The dragging on of making a decision threatened to have serious political consequences. There was no way to retreat and at 2:30 in the night the foreign-affairs ministers of the "ten" announced ending of the talks on expansion of the European Economic Community, that is, on the admittance of Spain and Portugal. Now in order for the "newcomers" to become full-pledged members of the European Economic Community, it would be necessary for the parliaments of the 10 member countries of the Common Market to ratify the agreement.

In political and trade-union circles and among entrepreneurs, the fear is now being expressed that the desire of Madrid to gain entrance into the European Economic Community no matter at what cost and in the shortest possible time could result in such concessions on the part of Spain that it would have to pay dearly for them. They warn that a one-sided orientation solely on the Common Market could seriously undermine Spanish positions in the countries of North Africa and in Latin America, that is, in those regions with which Spain has traditionally maintained close contacts. The call is heard increasingly on the pages of newspapers for the government to build its foreign policy on ways of broad international cooperation and to develop mutually beneficial relationships with all countries of the world regardless of their social systems.

WESTERN EUROPE

GROWTH OF SPANISH-SOVIET TIES SINCE FRANCO'S DEATH PRAISED

PM171521 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 85 p 4

[Own correspondent V. Chernyshev article under the rubric "East-West: Dialogue, Trade, Ties": "A Sensible Path"]

[Text] Madrid, July--In the times of the Francoist regime, when Florentino Perez, director of the information directorate, worried about the possible reaction in the country to the clashes in Madrid which had taken place not long before, expressed his fears to the then minister Arias-Salgado, the latter replied calmly: "Don't worry, what the newspapers don't write about doesn't exist."

Francoist propaganda adhered to this principle in everything that did not suit the regime, including the Soviet Union. The Spanish press, loyal to the dictator, simply did not notice the Land of the Soviets; it was as if the great power did not exist for it. If "Red Russia" was occasionally mentioned, it was, as rule, as part of an enumeration of the evils unleashed on mankind by the devil.

Nowadays you can count 10 or more items in the Spanish press every day which are directly or indirectly connected with the Soviet Union and its domestic and foreign policy. Any Spanish editor is very well aware that if he tried to expunge the Soviet Union from the pages of his newspaper he would probably run the risk of losing readers. Spanish people's interest in the life of the Land of the Soviets is running unusually high. People who for nearly 40 years had practically no information about the USSR are now trying to form a correct impression of that faraway country. Of course, by no means all the publications are notable for their objectivity. There are still many stereotypes left over from the past, and malicious articles often appear which are clearly not written with a Spanish accent. But nobody risks "not noticing" the Soviet Union any more.

The times have changed and different winds blow in Spain. It no longer occurs to anyone, as it did before, to assess international politics without taking account of the Soviet Union's positions. Recently, too, there has been an increase in interest in domestic events in the USSR. The extent to which the political climate in Spain has changed and the Soviet Union's prestige here has grown was demonstrated eloquently by the celebration of the 40th



anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. It was quite natural that the events arranged by the USSR Embassy in Madrid to mark the jubilee were attended by republican soldiers who fought shoulder to shoulder with Soviet volunteers during the Spanish Civil War and Spaniards who fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War.

The new climate promotes the rapid expansion of ties between Spain and the USSR. Convincing evidence of the two countries' mutual desire to develop all-around relations is provided by the strengthening of political ties. An important stage along the path of developing political dialogue was the visit to the USSR by Spanish head of state King Juan Carlos I, in the course of which there was a useful, constructive exchange of opinions on important avenues of the development of the international situation and the prospects for relations between the two countries. The two states' foreign ministers have met 11 times in recent years--in the course of exchanges of official visits and within the framework of various international forums. Last year the foundations were laid for interparliamentary links between the two countries. A delegation from the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Cortes Generales Congress of Deputies visited the Soviet Union. A delegation from the Spanish Senate headed by Senate President J.F. de Carvajal also paid an official visit to the USSR. Noting the fruitful nature of the visit and the good prospects both for relations between the two countries' parliaments and for Soviet-Spanish cooperation in general, J.F. de Carvajal stated that the visit and the talks in Moscow made possible an exchange of views on many issues and the confirmation of the mutual conviction of the need to make every effort to avoid a new world war and prevent thermonuclear catastrophe.

A return visit by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to Spain took place recently. In the course of numerous meetings and talks it was noted that the further all-around development of relations between the USSR and Spain is of positive significance for both countries and could contribute to the stabilization of the situation in Europe and the general improvement of international relations.

In the 8 years which have elapsed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and the Soviet Union, our countries have established fruitful ties in many spheres, take science and technology, for instance. An inter-governmental agreement on scientific and technical cooperation was signed 6 years ago. Since then, relations between the two countries in this sphere have developed considerably in specific areas. Fruitful ties have been established in the coal extraction industry. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Spanish coal firm HUNOSA, which concluded an agreement back in October 1978, have set up a joint working party. The areas of cooperation include two such avenues as an underground method of extracting coal in steep seams and a hydraulic extraction method. HUNOSA has bought two Poisk-2 coal combines from the Soviet Union and a Soviet shielding unit is being successfully tested at a Spanish mine. Soviet specialists studied the possibility of the use of the hydraulic coal extraction method at Spain's Ventura mine. Talks are currently under way with the HUNOSA and Duro Filguero firms on the joint production of certain types of mining machinery, in particular the Strela-77 drilling machine.

Links are growing in the sphere of agriculture and there are now regular exchanges of scientific publications, seed and planting materials, and experience in the plant-protection sphere. Avenues of cooperation have been mapped out in the sphere of land reclamation and water resources, with a view to saving water resources and automating irrigation systems, using waste water and preventing the pollution of water sources, combating the salination of irrigated land, and building drainage systems.

In the course of meetings and talks between representatives of the Spanish national railroads directorate and the USSR Ministry of Railways, avenues of scientific and technical cooperation in railroad transportation were approved for the period through 1990. Agreement was reached on the exchange of models of technical equipment with a view to testing them on the two countries' railroads, and a study of the possibility of establishing direct railroad communication between Moscow and Madrid is in its final stages.

Contacts are developing in the sphere of the power industry, biology, medicine, and fisheries and there are exchanges of scientists and specialists in the sphere of fundamental and applied research between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Spanish Higher Council for Scientific Research.

HUNOSA's experience has shown Spanish industrialists the mutually advantageous nature of cooperation with our country. The Spanish firms Focoex, Trabosa, Emex, and others have recently established contacts with the Soviet Union. A broad cooperation program has been elaborated by Explosives Rio Tinto (ERT), Spain's biggest chemicals company and one of the country's biggest industrial groups with private capital. ERT is involved in ore extraction, the smelting of nonferrous metals, oil refining, the production of fertilizers and medicines, road building, and book publishing. In February of this year an ERT delegation visited Moscow--the biggest delegation the company had ever sent abroad.

"In examining the possibilities for developing cooperation with the Soviet Union we proceeded on the basis that our countries' industry is developing, so to speak, along technically and technologically parallel lines," Vladislao Ascona, vice president of ERT, said in a talk. "This means that we must build ERT's policy not in the hope of saturating a particular sector, however small, in the Soviet Union's industrial production (what we have, the USSR has too), but in the hope of gaining the opportunity, on the one hand, to offer new goods which have just emerged from the design and calculation stage, and on the other, to offer output which it is more advantageous for the Soviet Union to acquire from us than by extending its own production. For instance, we supply superphosphoric acid. The USSR could undoubtedly buy it from other countries with which it has long-standing, stable relations. But here the main thing is not short-term interest, but political good will, trust in your partner, the desire to build relations on a mutually advantageous, long-term basis, and the awareness that contacts will be to both countries' benefit. ERT was the first to begin refining Soviet oil at its plants, and we want to be first in other spheres too. In a word, we want to be not only a vendor, but a serious client in multifaceted scientific, technical, and trade relations between the two countries."

The same desire is expressed by other Spanish firms. When the members of the Soviet delegation which took part in the fourth session of the mixed commission visited a number of Spanish enterprises, the leaders of local firms expressed readiness to establish cooperation with us, for instance, in the sphere of aircraft building, and proposed the delivery of engines for Soviet motor vehicles, the construction in the USSR of a plant for the production of refrigerators, milk tankers, and semitrailer tankers for the shipment of dangerous liquids, and the joint elaboration and production of certain radio electronics and telephone components.

The rate of growth of trade relations indicates the sides' great potential. Between 1973 and 1983 the volume of Soviet-Spanish trade increased 13-fold, and last year along it increased by nearly one-third compared with the previous year.

One of the youngest Spanish firms, created for trade operations with the Soviet Union, bears the name "Tractor." It is concerned with the sale of Soviet tractors in Spain, their technical servicing, and the supply of spare parts. The firm is only taking its first steps, but it did not arise in a vacuum. For nearly 10 years Spain has been buying Soviet tractors, and nearly 3,000 machines are working the field of Aragona, Catalonia, La Mancha, and other regions.

Francisco Mota, president of the firm, is optimistic about its future, although he realizes that there are many difficulties. Powerful companies from a number of Western countries are active in Spain: they have created a ramified trade network and have branches in many cities. It is not easy to rival them. Mota has visited several tractor plants in the Soviet Union and familiarized himself with the machines' production and their technical characteristics.

"Soviet tractors have won a high reputation in Spain," he says. "I know one farmer who imported a Soviet tractor from France 25 years ago, when there were no links between Spain and the Soviet Union. The machine is still working in the fields, and the owner does not want to part with it. One large landowner in the Tarancon region acquired a whole fleet of tractors, more than 10--all Soviet. He believes these machines are more reliable than other foreign brands. In a word, there is a base to work on, but much work must be done to familiarize Spanish farmers with Soviet machinery and demonstrate its potential. Evidently in future it is necessary to reach agreement with Soviet suppliers about certain modifications to the tractors to take account of Spanish conditions."

The Soviet Unions contacts with Spain in various spheres, which began relatively recently practically from scratch, have taken on such a broad scale that they cannot be described in a single report. They cover such spheres as culture, book publishing, sea and air transport, fisheries, tourism, and sport.

The development of all-around mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is increasingly persuading the Spanish people that the path of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding is the sensible, correct path in relations between our countries, a path which meets their interests and the interests of strengthening peace and security in Europe and all over the planet.

WESTERN EUROPE

USSR-SWEDEN: AGREEMENT ON COASTAL TRADE

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 6, May 85 p 54

[Text] Agreement Between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Sweden on Coastal Trade

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Sweden,

basing themselves on the provisions of the Soviet-Swedish Trade Agreement of March 15, 1924, and the Long-Term Agreement on Trade of April 7, 1976,

in accordance with the Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the USSR and Sweden for the Period 1981-1990 of September 24, 1981,

desiring to develop further trade and economic cooperation, including the expansion of coastal trade on a stable and long-term basis,

have agreed as follows.

**Article 1**

Coastal trade between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Sweden shall be effected between the Soviet and Swedish coastal and adjacent areas of the Baltic Sea in the form of mutual exchange of goods and rendering of services on a balanced basis.

The approximate nomenclature of such goods is given in Lists 1 and 2 attached to this Agreement.

List 1—Soviet goods for export to Sweden.

List 2—Swedish goods for export to the USSR.

The above lists shall not be limitative.

**Article 2**

Trade operations and rendering of services in accordance with this Agreement shall be effected under the terms and conditions of the above-mentioned Agreement of April 7, 1976, on the basis of contracts to be concluded between the relevant Soviet foreign trade organizations and Swedish organizations and firms

engaged in coastal trade in both countries. These contracts shall stipulate the quantities, dates, prices and other specific terms and conditions of delivery of goods and rendering of services.

The Sides shall facilitate the conclusion of such contracts, including long-term contracts.

### **Article 3**

The relevant organizations and firms of both countries shall, as a rule, proceed from the fact that the value of goods and services from one country during a certain period of time under one or several contracts in the field of coastal trade will correspond to the value of goods and services from the other country.

### **Article 4**

The Sides recognize the importance of participation in trade fairs, as well as in the organization of permanent and temporary exhibitions to be held in either country.

Articles intended for fairs and exhibitions, as well as the samples of goods shall be exempt from customs duties, taxes and other similar charges subject to the laws and regulations in force.

### **Article 5**

The Sides recognize the importance of exchanging economic and commercial information for the further development of coastal trade.

### **Article 6**

Review of the implementation of this Agreement, as well as the consideration of matters of further development of coastal trade shall be effected in the manner provided for in Article 8 of the Long-Term Agreement on Trade between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Sweden of April 7, 1976.

### **Article 7**

The understanding finalized in the letters which the Sides exchanged on March 30, 1984, shall lapse from the day of signing this Agreement.

### **Article 8**

This Agreement shall enter into force on the day of its signing and shall remain valid until the passage of twelve months from the day when either Side notifies the other Side of its desire to terminate it.

Done in Moscow on February 13, 1985, in two originals, each in the Russian and Swedish languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of Sweden  
M. HELLSTROM

For the Government of the Union of  
Soviet Socialist Republics  
N. PATOLICHEV

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English translation, "Foreign Trade", 1985

WESTERN EUROPE

PRAVDA PRAISES NEW FINNISH CP JOURNAL

PM160911 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 85 p 4

[Own correspondent M. Kostikov report: "Dictated by Life"]

[Text] Helsinki, 11 Jul--The Finnish communists' new monthly, Theory and Policy, has begun to be published, in the form of a supplement to the newspaper TIEDONANTAJA.

The publication of the new journal, with a print run of more than 25,000 copies, its chief editor R. Kalmakurki said in an interview for PRAVDA's correspondent, is dictated by the demands of the propagandization of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the unification of the party masses on the basis of those ideas, and the enhancement of the Communist Party's role in the country's workers' movement.

We devote the main attention to an analysis of the activity of the country's Communist Party, the tasks and prospects which face it, and the problems of the international communist movement. In this connection great significance is attached to the journal's publication of articles on the experience of fraternal Communist Parties, above all the CPSU, and the analysis of the present-day international situation and the communist movement's tasks.

The first responses from readers to the new journal, the interviewee said, are positive. They show that the reader expects us to answer many questions which continue to be discussed widely among the party masses. This means first and foremost questions about the Finnish Communist Party's future, the difficulties on its path, and how to overcome them. We plan to publish a series of articles on various aspects of the CPSU's activity, and the November issue of the journal will be entirely devoted to the Soviet communists' preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress--a very important event not only in the USSR's life, but in the international communist and workers' movement too.

CSO: 1807/395

EASTERN EUROPE

USSR-BULGARIAN LONG-TERM COOPERATION PROGRAM

PM051234 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 26, Jun 85 (signed to press 24 Jun 85) pp 9-10

["Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic for the Period Through the Year 2000"--EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA headline; capitalized passages within slantlines published in capitals; first three paragraphs are EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] As already reported, the "Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic for the Period Through the Year 2000" was signed in Moscow 7 June 1985.

The document was signed for the Soviet side by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and for the Bulgarian side by T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council.

The full text of the Soviet-Bulgarian program is published below.

The USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic,

Guided by the decisions of the CPSU and BCP Congresses and the CEMA Countries' 1984 Economic Summit Conference, and also the accords reached during the meetings of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee,

In accordance with the provisions of the 12 May 1967 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic,

Guided by the goals of socioeconomic progress and enhancement of the population's prosperity,

Taking into account the economic, scientific, and technical potential of both countries and attaching great importance to the balanced expansion and

improvement of mutually advantageous economic, scientific, and technical cooperation on a stable long-term basis,

Noting the great importance of intensifying and enhancing the efficiency of production by improving the structure of the international socialist division of labor, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and improving the planning and management of the national economy and the socialist organization of labor,

Expressing profound satisfaction with the progress of the development and the results of Soviet-Bulgarian economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, which is an integral part of the efforts made by the Soviet and Bulgarian people in building the developed socialist society and communism.

Desiring a further deepening and development of the CEMA countries' socialist economic integration,

Being confident that the two countries' all-around fraternal cooperation serves the cause of peace and socialism,

Adopt the present long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic for the period through the year 2000.

#### I.

The relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are constantly expanding and deepening. The all-around development of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation is a consistent implementation of the line agreed between the CPSU and the BCP of further gradual rapprochement between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples. This enriches Soviet-Bulgarian relations with new content and is an effective factor for strengthening the socialist community's unity and might.

The core of all-around cooperation is the political alliance of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic and the political unity of the CPSU and the BCP. The deepening and enrichment of ties between party, state, and public organs and organizations at all levels, and also between labor collectives is the outstanding result of the implementation of this course.

A major material and technical base ensuring the intensive economic development of all sectors of the national economy has been created in the Bulgarian People's Republic through the selfless labor of the Bulgarian people under the Communist Party's leadership and with the Soviet Union's fraternal help.

The Bulgarian People's Republic has been transformed from an economically backward former agrarian country into an advanced socialist state with developed industry and highly mechanized agriculture, both organized on a



socialist basis. It has secured major achievements in the development of science and culture, national education and public health.

The industrial and other projects in power engineering, metallurgy, the petroleum refining and chemical industry, and other sectors constructed in the Bulgarian People's Republic with the USSR's technical assistance constitute the basis of the country's production potential and ensure its onward economic development. Deliveries from the USSR satisfy the main import needs of the Bulgarian People's Republic for machines and equipment, energy resources, and the most important types of raw materials for industry.

The Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation also helps to satisfy more fully the USSR national economy's requirements for individual types of machine building and other industrial products, some agricultural and food industry goods, and consumer goods.

The development of economic, scientific, and technical ties between the USSR and Bulgarian People's Republic takes place in accordance with the comprehensive program for the further deepening and improvement of cooperation and the development of socialist integration between CEMA countries, and also the long-term targeted cooperation programs in material production sectors. A great influence on the deepening of the two countries' all-around cooperation is exerted by the general scheme of specialization and production sharing in the material production sphere between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic through 1990, adopted in 1979, and by the sectorial cooperation programs elaborated on its basis.

An increasingly large role in the implementation of agreed directions of mutual cooperation is played by the coordination of the state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, the use of efficient new forms of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, and the development of direct ties between Soviet and Bulgarian ministries and departments and economic and scientific organizations.

The Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic are fully resolved to promote in every possible way cooperation within the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA frameworks and to participate actively in the implementation of the decisions and directives of the CEMA countries' economic summit conference and other accords on multilateral economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

The results already achieved and the prospects for the expansion of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation are highly important for solving the strategic tasks of building the material and technical base of the developed socialist society and of communism, for the growth of both countries' economic potential, for ensuring the dynamic, balanced, and efficient development of their national economies, and for raising on this basis the populations' living standards.

## II.

The present long-term program is a further development and concretization of the most important directions envisaged by the general scheme of specialization and production sharing in the material production sphere between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic through 1990 for the expansion of all-around economic, scientific, and technical ties between the two countries through the year 2000 on the basis of decisions taken at the CEMA countries' economic summit conference.

The Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic proceed from the premise that their long-term economic, scientific, and technical cooperation accords with the vital interests of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples.

The main objective of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation is to actively help to comprehensively enhance the people's prosperity and more fully satisfy their needs on the basis of the coordination of economic policy, the growth of both countries' economic potential, and the ensuring of the dynamic, balanced, and efficient development of their national economies.

In order to attain this objective, the Soviet and Bulgarian sides intend to concentrate reciprocal cooperation on the tasks of the further intensification of the national economies of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, the enhancement in every way of social labor productivity on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the improvement of the international socialist division of labor, mutually advantageous specialization and production sharing, and the consolidation of the national economy's material base by means of the extensive introduction of modern and highly efficient technological processes, machines, equipment, and materials, and so on the tasks of making rational use of production capacities, saving labor and material resources, improving output quality, and developing efficient export production units.

The basis for the deepening of cooperation, the development of socialist economic integration, and the growth of reciprocal trade turnover must be--as well as the enhancement of effective intersectorial exchange--the further development of intrasectorial specialization in the processing sectors of industry, and particularly of intensive scientific and technical cooperation and production sharing in machine building.

Within the framework of the coordinated economic policy, the Soviet Union will continue deliveries of several types of raw materials and energy sources to the Bulgarian People's Republic in order to satisfy its import needs in amounts determined on the basis of plan coordination and long-term accords. In its turn, the Bulgarian People's Republic will consistently develop the structure of production and export with a view to supplying output needed by the Soviet Union, and particularly foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods, and several types of high-quality construction materials, machines, and equipment up to world technical standards. This will guarantee mutually advantageous compensation for expenditure incurred and will provide

opportunities for the further deepening of stable long-term production specialization between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

For the purpose of ensuring further efficient development of the economy on the basis of the strengthening of the material and technical base, the Bulgarian People's Republic will, in its cooperation with the Soviet Union, implement the necessary measures in the capital investment sphere aimed at further improving the national economy's structure primarily by developing production processes with low energy- and materials-intensiveness and making efficient use of energy and raw material resources.

The sides will also engage in mutually advantageous cooperation with third countries.

### III.

The USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic consider that the utilization in every way of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress is a key factor in the implementation of the long-term program. The sides will continue implementing a coordinated--and in certain spheres a common--scientific and technical policy in the light of the scientific and technical potential existing in the countries with a view to resolving as quickly as possible and through joint efforts the most important questions in the sphere of science and technology and the introduction of the results achieved into production on mutually advantageous terms.

Cooperation in the sphere of scientific and technical progress will be directed toward the development of the following priority sectors: electronics, comprehensive automation, and new types of materials, technologies, and biotechnologies; and also toward the solution of other most important scientific and technical problems.

The sides will develop cooperation in creating the theoretical groundwork of scientific and technical progress, stepping up fundamental research, and determining the most important tasks for joint solution, ensuring the attainment of high world standards in technical and economic indicators and output quality and the strengthening of both countries' technological and technical invulnerability.

Cooperation in the sphere of electronics, computers, and instrument making will be directed toward the creation and introduction of highly efficient articles and the latest technologies and systems for raising the degree of automation of production processes and the application of automated design and management systems in the national economy's sectors. Joint work in the microelectronic industry will be directed toward the development of the production microelectronic components and devices with an extremely high degree of integration and the creation of a new generation of microelectronic instruments based on advanced physical principles. It is planned to create complexes of instruments and means of automation in different sectors of the national economy and external memory devices and to cooperate in the sphere of

optical electronics. Joint scientific research and development in the sphere of the creation of vacuum and laser technology will be further developed and deepened.

It is planned to further develop cooperation in the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes and of hoisting and transport, loading and unloading, and warehousing operations in industry, agriculture, and transportation and in the creation and introduction of new complexes of machines and equipment for the extraction and processing minerals and technological processes and highly productive equipment for the processing and storage of fruit and vegetables. It is planned to create flexible production systems in machine building and other sectors on the basis of the extensive utilization of industrial robots, manipulators, and other highly productive program-controlled equipment and systems using microprocessor technology.

Processes will be developed and technical means will be created which ensure a significant enhancement of efficiency in the utilization of fuel and energy in various sectors of the national economy. The creation and introduction of advanced technologies for the comprehensive processing and economic utilization of raw and other materials, including secondary raw materials, and the development and application of new structural materials, materials with improved and new properties, super-pure substances for the electronics industry and other sectors, and various types of polymer materials and compounds are envisaged with a view to satisfying both countries' needs. On the basis of the latest methods for obtaining and working materials, it is planned to develop cooperation in the development of technologies and equipment for the production of high-durability structural, instrument-making, and other specialized types of steel, ferrous and nonferrous metals and alloys including tungsten-free and hard alloys, and also compound materials, powder metallurgy products, and materials for electronic technology.

Cooperation in the chemical industry will be directed toward: the elaboration and assimilation of the production of new types of structural plastics for machine building and the electronics industry and of modified chemical fibers with improved hygienic properties and performance; the improvement and intensification of technological processes in petroleum refining and the petrochemical industry; the creation and introduction of new technologies for the production of chemical pharmaceutical compounds and semimanufactures for their production, silver halide photographic materials with reduced silver content, small-scale chemical industry products, chemical plant protection agents, and highly efficient catalysts for the chemical and petrochemical industries.

Cooperation in the sphere of the agroindustrial complex will be directed toward the elaboration and introduction of highly efficient industrial technologies, including those based on the application of biotechnological methods, ensuring the intensification of the production of vegetable and animal agricultural output through the application of modern genetic, physiological, biochemical, molecular, and other methods. Wastefree technologies, systems for the mechanization and automation of processes for the use of pesticides for integrated plant protection, and land reclamation

systems with automated water distribution and water consumption will be developed and introduced.

The sides will elaborate measures to further develop and improve cooperation in the sphere of scientific and technical information by expanding the reciprocal exchange of information on scientific and technical achievements and will improve the system for their reciprocal transfer.

#### IV.

Guided by the objectives and tasks set out above, the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic have agreed to develop bilateral economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in the main sectors of the national economy in the following priority directions.

**/IN THE SPHERE OF ENERGY, FUEL, AND RAW MATERIALS/**--Making the most rational and economical use of energy resources and raw materials in the national economy, reducing the energy- and materials-intensiveness of production on the basis of the introduction of modern machines, equipment, and advanced technological processes and changes in the structure of production and the consumption of raw materials and energy, making fuller use of secondary, including low-yield, fuel and energy resources, implementing measures to increase the extraction and comprehensive utilization of local types of fuel and nontraditional energy sources in the Bulgarian People's Republic, and implementing joint work on the Bulgarian Shelf of the Black Sea.

For the purpose of creating conditions for deliveries of fuel and energy resources from the USSR to the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Bulgarian side will take part in the construction of gas pipelines and petroleum industry projects on USSR territory, and also in the implementation of other forms of cooperation.

The Soviet Union will continue to render technological assistance in improving the power industry's structure in the Bulgarian People's Republic and developing its material and technical base, primarily via the construction of nuclear power stations.

The sides agreed to maintain the level of deliveries of petroleum and petroleum products from the USSR to the Bulgarian People's Republic in 1986-1990, and also to study the possibilities of increasing deliveries of natural gas and electric power to the Bulgarian People's Republic in the aforementioned years on the basis of the agreeing of mutually acceptable forms of cooperation.

The mutual cooperation of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic **/IN FERROUS AND NONFERROUS METALLURGY/** will be directed toward the implementation of measures to: reconstruct and modernize enterprises, develop metallurgical and ore-extracting capacities in both countries, and most rapidly introduce modern technological processes; improvement of the structure of the production of metal output and improve its quality, enhance the share of advanced types of rolled metals and increase the output of high-quality steels and steel

products; expand the range of products and their exchange on the basis of production specialization; develop powder metallurgy and the production of new alloys with improved properties; reduce metal-intensiveness in the production of articles by metal-consuming sectors and machine building in particular; and make rational use of capacities existing in the Bulgarian People's Republic for the production of rolled nonferrous metals.

The sides will develop cooperation in the maintenance and development of the raw materials base of ferrous metallurgy, including the fuller and more efficient utilization of secondary raw materials and local raw material resources in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Work will be carried out in the Bulgarian People's Republic, with the USSR's cooperation, on the most rational and comprehensive utilization of iron ore from the Kremikovtsi deposit and on the opening up of the Obrochishte manganese deposit and the Gruncharitsa tungsten deposit in the interests of both countries' national economies. Work will continue in the USSR with the participation of the Bulgarian People's Republic on opening up deposits of ferruginous raw materials and constructing ferrous metallurgy projects for the purpose of delivering the appropriate output to the Bulgarian People's Republic. The sides will cooperate in the development of aluminum production in order to more fully satisfy both countries' needs.

/IN THE MACHINE BUILDING SPHERE/, which is a most important material base for technological progress and for the enhancement of social production efficiency, cooperation will be directed mainly toward providing high-quality machines and equipment up to world technical standards for key sectors of the national economies of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, and this cooperation will be implemented throughout the entire "research-production-market" cycle.

The further deepening and improvement of specialization and production sharing between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic will provide the basis for the development of reciprocal deliveries of new types of machine building products in line with the directions of cooperation envisaged by the present long-term program and the machine building cooperation programs adopted by CEMA organs on a multilateral basis, including articles of the electronic, radio engineering, electrical engineering, and instrument making industries, automation, computer, and communications facilities and systems, metalworking equipment and machine tools with digital program control, automatic lines, robots, flexible production systems, equipment for the mechanization and automation of warehousing operations and intraplant transportation systems, individual types of power engineering, chemical, mining, construction, highway construction, and transportation equipment, products of the automotive industry and tractor and agricultural machine building, equipment for the light and food industry, and ships and equipment for them.

Machine building in the Bulgarian People's Republic will specialize, on a production sharing basis, largely in the manufacture for delivery to the USSR of product types whose metal-intensiveness is low, and also in the efficient

utilization of capacities created in the Bulgarian People's Republic for the manufacture of individual types of heavy machine building output.

The USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic will engage in cooperation in the development and production of electronic components for microelectronic, electronic, and computer products, instruments, and automation and communications facilities and systems on the basis of a uniform standardized components base, and also of specialized technological equipment and particularly pure and specialized materials for microelectronics in accordance with the existing long-term programs for scientific and technical cooperation and production sharing between the two countries and between CEMA countries in the aforementioned sphere. Reciprocal deliveries will be effected on the basis of this cooperation.

Cooperation in the machine building sphere will develop on the basis of product, component, and process specialization, unification, and comprehensive standardization. Particular attention will be devoted to ensuring the availability of spare parts for reciprocally delivered machines and equipment and their technical servicing.

/IN THE CHEMICAL AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES/ the main attention will be concentrated on the joint development of new technological processes and equipment and on the construction, modernization, and reconstruction of capacities with a view to ensuring a significant improvement of the quality and expansion of the range of output produced in order to increase reciprocal deliveries on the basis of specialization and production sharing. The Soviet side will expand the production of energy-intensive chemical industry products (ammonia, methanol), including products for delivery to the Bulgarian People's Republic, while the Bulgarian side will produce less energy-intensive products (certain types of small-scale chemical industry output, plant protection agents, and polymer products), including products for delivery to the USSR.

The sides will expand their cooperation in the production and reciprocal deliveries of traditional and new types of chemical and petrochemical raw materials and products.

/IN THE AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX SECTORS./ For the purpose of more fully satisfying the needs of the populations of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic for foodstuffs and food industry products, the sides will expand and deepen cooperation in the following directions:

Increasing production and reciprocal deliveries of highly productive agricultural and irrigation and drainage equipment, machines and equipment for the food industry, trade, and public catering and for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes, and also further expanding, modernizing and reconstructing irrigation and drainage facilities;

Strengthening the feed base of stockraising on the basis of the expansion and optimum coordination of mechanization, chemicalization, land reclamation, and selection and the exchange of front-ranking experience;



Developing capacities and modernizing and reconstructing enterprises in the food industry sectors, including participation by Bulgarian organizations in the performance of such work in the USSR, creating and introducing new technological lines for waste-free production, and enriching the range and improving the quality of food products;

Introducing into production new and more advanced technologies (including biotechnologies) in horticulture and stockraising, highly productive varieties and hybrids of agricultural crops, seeds, and planting materials, and new lines and breeds of animals and poultry and making wide use of feed protein and other microbiological synthesis products in the production of agricultural and food industry products;

Developing the production of packaging materials and assimilating the production of refrigeration equipment for the storage of agricultural produce and food industry products; improving transportation systems and warehousing bases with a view to the better storage of food products and their rapid transportation from producer to consumer.

The sides will cooperate in timber procurements in the Komi ASSR.

/IN THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS/--to direct cooperation toward substantially increasing the production of high-quality goods which are in great demand and of fashionable articles and expanding production specialization and reciprocal deliveries, including deliveries of consumer durables from the USSR to the Bulgarian People's Republic and of light industry articles and other consumer goods from the Bulgarian People's Republic to the USSR.

The sides will take joint measures to retool and modernize the relevant industrial sectors and, for this purpose, will expand cooperation in the development and introduction of modern technological processes and high-quality chemical materials, the assimilation of the production of advanced machine and equipment systems, and also the development of the raw materials base for light industry. Various forms of cooperation will be used to expand exchanges of consumer goods, including the exchange of ranges of goods [assortimentnyy obmen] under the auspices of domestic trade, consumer cooperatives, and department stores and the establishment of a network of own-brand [firmennyy] stores.

Cooperation in the /TRANSPORTATION SPHERE/ will be directed toward:

Rationally distributing foreign trade freight among the types of transport and improving the organization of freight-carrying operations and the production synchronization of the transportation process;

Developing the material and technical base of transportation systems in the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic linked with providing freight-carrying operations in reciprocal trade and international transit freight, developing the capacities of harbor complexes and border crossing points,



reconstructing railroads and enhancing their traffic capacity, and improving the motor vehicle pool's structure;

Developing and introducing new technologies in order to improve freight-carrying operations by water transport on the basis of the organization of new lines using all-purpose ships, container ships, roll on-roll off ships and the further development of ferry communications, "river-sea" freight-carrying operations, and other advanced technologies and optimum freight-carrying methods, and in particular for the carrying of timber and food products, perishable commodities, petroleum, and calcinated soda, and also the development of freight-carrying operations using containers, bales, and pallets;

Developing, producing, and utilizing automated transport control systems, including expansion of the use of the Inmarsat system and the automated air traffic control system.

Cooperation /IN THE COMMUNICATIONS SPHERE/ will be directed basically toward increasing the traffic capacity of communication lines, including by constructing a seabed coaxial cable line, using the Intersputnik international satellite communications system, creating an integrated switching facilities system and an integrated system of digital data transmission facilities, and developing both countries' communications systems.

/IN THE SPHERE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS./ The sides will cooperate in implementing the construction, reconstruction, and modernization of projects through the performance of planning work, deliveries of highly productive technologies and equipment, and the provision of other types of technical assistance.

The sides will develop cooperation /IN THE SPHERE OF TOURISM, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION,/ and other spheres of mutual interest.

## V.

The directions, objectives, and tasks of Soviet-Bulgarian economic, scientific, and technical cooperation envisaged by the present long-term program will be implemented by means of coordination of the most important directions of economic, scientific, and technical policy and intensification of direct collaboration by both countries' planning and economic organs in the spheres of science, technology, and material production.

On this basis the central planning organs, ministries, and departments of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic will substantially expand the coordination of 5-year state plans, which the sides see as the main instrument for the implementation of a coordinated economic policy and the establishment of stable economic, scientific, and technical ties between the two countries and as a basis for the elaboration of their national plans insofar as they affect reciprocal cooperation.

In order to improve production structures, elaborate interconnected paths of economic development, and attain greater mutual complementarity of their national economic complexes, the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic have agreed to implement effective coordination of capital investments in spheres of mutual interest. In the first place, there will be coordination of capital investments exerting a substantial influence on the improvement of the structure of production and the growth of export potential, the economical use of fuel, energy, and raw materials, the enhancement of the technical standards of output, and the development of advanced technology and transport links, and also capital investment for joint construction projects. In the process of this coordination the optimum solutions will be sought as regards the capacity of the enterprises created and their rational sitting in the light of natural and economic conditions and on the basis of the potential for providing resource and financial support for production and the marketing of output.

The foreign economic ties between the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic will be developed on a mutually advantageous and balanced basis. For this purpose the sides will determine the most efficient directions, forms, and conditions of cooperation.

For the purpose of the practical implementation of cooperation accords between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic stemming from the present long-term program, the appropriate ministries and departments in both countries will elaborate and coordinate sectorial programs for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and for specialization and production sharing in the next 5-year plan and through the year 2000.

The most important questions of cooperation in the sphere of science and technology linked with the implementation of the present long-term program will be resolved on the basis of comprehensive programs for scientific and technical cooperation on the priority problems of the development of science and technology, which will define the main executants and the provision of resources for the planned joint work, the organizational forms for its performance, and the timetables for the introduction into production of finished versions of advanced equipment and technologies.

On the basis of the results of the coordination of state plans and sectorial cooperation programs, the appropriate ministries and departments of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic will sign the necessary long-term agreements on specialization and production sharing, on reciprocal goods deliveries, on the provision of technical assistance and cooperation in the construction, reconstruction, and modernization of industrial and other projects, on cooperation in the sphere of scientific research work, on the establishment of joint organizations, and other agreements. On the basis of results achieved in the process of the long-term program's implementation, and as new opportunities and needs arise, the sides will agree upon and implement additional measures for comprehensive economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic will make broad use of various forms of cooperation, including the establishment of direct ties between ministries, associations, enterprises, and organizations; establishment of joint enterprises, production and science-and-production firms, and other international economic organizations on the basis of financial autonomy. The fulfillment of the sides' obligations stemming from the results of the coordination of state plans and concluded agreements will be ensured in accordance with the systems of planning and managing the national economy operating in the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The implementation of the long-term program's provisions will be helped by the active participation of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic in the fulfillment of the coordinated plans for integration measures and of the multilateral agreements between CEMA countries.

The organization of work to implement the long-term program and monitor the progress of work will be carried out by the Soviet-Bulgarian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which, jointly with the central planning organs, will promote where necessary the elaboration of new proposals on questions of further developing friendly relations, trade and economic ties, and scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The present long-term program enters into force on the day it is signed and will remain in force through 31 December 2000.

Done in Moscow on 7 June 1985, in two copies, each in the Russian and Bulgarian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

CSO: 1825/95

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

CEMA AID TO SRV

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English May 85, No 6 pp 16-19

[Article by Hoang Thuc Tan, deputy permanent representative of the SRV in CEMA: "Role of the Socialist Community in Vietnam's Accelerated Economic Development"]

[Excerpts]

Over the last 40 years immediately after the victory of the August Revolution of 1945 and formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first South-East Asian state of workers and peasants, the Vietnamese people had to mobilize all its means and resources to wage a continuous struggle against the powerful forces of imperialism in the name of national liberation and defence of its sacred Motherland.

Following the thesis of President Ho Chi Minh: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the Vietnamese people under the guidance of the Communist Party persistently and courageously fought to attain two high national goals which at the same time are the ideals of our epoch: national independence and socialism.

Taking into account the difficult external conditions as well as the weakness and backwardness of our economy resulting from the prolonged war our Party set two strategic tasks: successful construction of socialism and reliable defence of the socialist Motherland. Fighting for the fulfilment of the said tasks the Vietnamese people mobilize all their efforts and resources, develop cooperation and receive assistance of the CMEA member-countries, in the first place the Soviet Union. The entry of Vietnam in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was a natural step in the development of Vietnam's Revolution, the furthering of the process, at a higher stage, of consolidating Vietnam's economic cooperation

and mutual assistance with other CMEA member-countries.

For Vietnam as well as for other economically less developed countries transferring their economies from small to large socialist production, gradual socialist industrialization with formation of the economic foundations of the new society and creation of its material and technical base are an important and urgent task. It is practically impossible to accomplish such a tremendous undertaking without all-round cooperation, assistance and socialist economic integration with the other CMEA member-countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

Speaking about the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in accelerating Vietnam's economic development we are always aware that it mainly exists in the cooperation and the assistance rendered to Vietnam by the socialist community as a whole and each CMEA member-country separately.

Vietnam's bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-countries had been realized long before the entry of our country in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This cooperation has been and is of great importance for our country's socialist industrialization. As a result of it key economic sectors such as power engineering, the coal industry, mechanical engineering, metallurgy, the chemical industry, transport and communications, civil engineering, the building materials industry, textile and processing industries, consumer goods production, the food industry, growing of tropical industrial crops, the fishing industry, geology, etc., have been created and are developing. Recently a new industrial sector—the prospecting and extraction of oil and gas on continental shelf in the south of Vietnam is being created within the framework of Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation.

The formation and development of the said economic sectors are a prerequisite for Vietnam's participation in specialization and cooperation in production as well as its more active participation in the international socialist division of labour.

With the CMEA member-countries' technical assistance, at present nearly 300 industrial and other projects have already been put into operation and over 100 projects are being built in the major economic sectors.

To solve the fuel and power problem, using the technical aid of the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia as well as other socialist community countries, a number of electric power stations, substations, electric power lines and the coal industry projects were constructed or will be completed, among which are: the Thac Ba hydro-electric power station (108,000 kW) and the Uong Bi thermal power station which although seriously damaged because of US bombings during the war did not stop generating power even for one single day; the Pha Lai thermal power station (440 MW) whose first two blocks have been put into use, the Hao Binh hydro-electric power station (total capacity almost 2 million kW), the Tri An hydro-electric power station (400 MW), the Cau Do thermal power station (120 MW) which are to generate current by the middle of the next five-year plan period; the Cao Son, Vang Danh, Mong Duong, Na Duong, Yen Tu, etc., coal mines and opencast mines (total capacity over 10 million tons per year). After their commissioning these projects will assure production of approximately 80 per cent of the country's electric energy and 90 per cent of Vietnam's coal output.

In mechanical engineering, besides the existing factories manufacturing metal-cutting machine tools, diesels, motors, sea-going ships, various railway equipment, spare parts for machinery and equipment used in various industries, in the near future factories manufacturing certain types of heavy industry products will be built. Thus, in Vietnam, with the CMEA member-countries' and primarily the USSR's technical assistance the foundations of modern mechanical engineering are being gradually laid. Soon our new mechanical engineering sector will be able to participate in specialization and cooperation in production of certain products such as low-power diesels, motors, metal-cutting machine tools, etc.

In the chemical industry with the Soviet Union's assistance capacities manufacturing nearly the whole amount of the country's sulphuric acid and superphosphates capacities were created, construction of an apatite mining and dressing complex, owing to which we will be able to export this product in the

next five-year plan period has started. Important chemical projects, among them factories manufacturing nitrogen fertilizers, caustic soda, petrochemicals, a factory producing antibiotics, a cellulose-making plant, etc., will be constructed in the next five-year plan period and in the 1990s.

In addition to the above other industrial projects satisfying a substantial portion of our economic needs for the corresponding products are successfully operating. These are: the Bim Son cement factory (capacity 1.2 million tons per year), spinning mills, the Gia Sang steel works, tea-packing and canning factories, rubber and coffee plantations, etc. In the near future a number of projects for the non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy, transport, civil engineering, and the building materials industries will be put into operation.

We are very proud of projects of Vietnam's mutual cooperation with other CMEA member-countries which are being quickly erected all over our country: in the south, in the north, in the plains and mountains.

To raise the scientific and technical level and accelerate Vietnam's economic development the fraternal countries render us great assistance in establishing research institutes, laboratories, in training scores of thousands of Vietnamese scientific and technical personnel and by transferring valuable technical documentation, designs and specifications to Vietnam, by sending thousands of skilled specialists to help construct various projects and instruct on the spot our local staff. Now our country has a large army of scientists and technicians who have been educated mainly in the fraternal socialist countries. At present thousands of candidates and doctors of sciences, scores of thousands of engineers and specialists are engaged in our economy.

Vietnam's trade turnover with the CMEA member-countries, which constantly take the leading place in our foreign trade, is steadily growing. Now the socialist community countries cover nearly 80 per cent of Vietnam's foreign trade volume. The Soviet Union, Vietnam's largest partner, supplies the country with the primary goods needed for our economic development and the people's normal life, such as petroleum products, rolled ferrous metals, nitrogen fertilizers, machinery and equipment, chemical pro-

ducts, cotton and other vital goods forming 70 to 100 per cent of the said goods import. Other CMEA member-countries also supply products required for our economy. In Vietnam's trade with the CMEA member-countries the goods exchange under cooperation agreements on processing customer's raw materials in Vietnam is very important, it assures the employment of scores of thousands of workers and is gradually drawing this country into the international socialist division of labour.

Granting Vietnam favourable conditions in mutual trade is a specific feature of the socialist community countries' cooperation with Vietnam.

Taking into consideration Vietnam's considerable difficulties caused by the prolonged war the CMEA member-countries took the decision to cancel the repayment of credits granted to Vietnam during the war of resistance against the US aggressor and continue granting it long-term credits on favourable terms as well as gratuitous aid to cover the expenditures connected with the construction of projects, purchasing of goods and other items necessary for Vietnam. These credits and gratuitous aid are an important source assisting Vietnam's socialist industrialization.

The further deepening and improvement of Vietnam's bilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-countries is promoting the successful realization of Vietnam's socio-economic development programme adopted by the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Along with the effective bilateral cooperation Vietnam participates in multilateral economic cooperation through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Even in 1976 when Vietnam was present in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as an observer the socialist community countries undertook certain joint actions to assist Vietnam. The first of them was assistance to restore the Unity railway line connecting the country's northern and southern parts which is of great social and economic value for united Vietnam. After Vietnam entered CMEA in 1978 the member-countries at the 33rd Session of the Council took a decision to include Vietnam in the



Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration. The 87th meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council adopted a resolution on Vietnam's participation in certain undertakings of the long-term specific programmes of cooperation. In line with these resolutions the socialist community countries and the CMEA bodies furthered their activities on expanding and deepening cooperation that would accelerate Vietnam's economic development and make it more effective. The 99th meeting of the Executive Committee held in 1981 adopted special measures of assistance aimed at expediting the development and raising the effectiveness of Vietnam's economy.

Now that about four years have passed since the adoption of these special measures it must be pointed out that the interested CMEA member-countries are still placing great stress on their realization. The first positive results were attained in such economic sectors as agriculture, geology, transport, the chemical industry. Bilateral and multilateral large-scale programmes on developing the production of rubber, coffee and other crops, on constructing transport projects, on prospecting for bauxites, apatites and other minerals, are being implemented. In the sphere of scientific and technical cooperation a General Agreement was signed on promoting Vietnam's accelerated scientific and technical development for the period ending in the year 2000. Here the fraternal countries are assisting Vietnam to fulfil a large-scale programme that will develop power engineering, the extractive industry, agriculture, geological prospecting and use of natural resources, including effective treatment of tropical diseases and to overcome the consequences of the war, etc. Undoubtedly the fulfilment of all the tasks envisaged in the Agreement will give a new impetus to scientific and technical development in relevant economic sectors.

Being situated in the tropical zone Vietnam has vast arable lands suitable for growing valuable crops which cannot be cultivated in other CMEA member-countries. Our country has also many types of minerals, substantial labour resources including over one million scientists, technicians and skilled workers as

well as other potentials for developing multilateral cooperation and supply the interested CMEA member-countries with those types of products which are not grown or manufactured in their countries. It must be pointed out that there are many hidden reserves for expanding cooperation and specialization between Vietnam and other CMEA member-countries. We impart great significance to the CMEA's and its Secretariat's organizational role for assuring the most comprehensive use of these possibilities.

The CMEA member-countries' Summit Economic Conference held in Moscow, June 1984, was an extremely important event for each CMEA member-country and the whole socialist community. The Vietnamese people together with the fraternal countries' peoples warmly welcomed the success of the Conference and highly evaluated the documents it adopted outlining the main strategic directions of the activity making for a more comprehensive and all-round utilization of the advantages of socialism, its tremendous possibilities for the powerful and progressive development of the CMEA member-countries' productive forces as an important factor for improving our peoples' material well-being and cultural level. The Conference confirmed that the CMEA member-countries would follow their international duty and continue rendering assistance to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic for accelerating their development and raising the effectiveness of their economies with due regard for these countries' tasks of socialist industrialization and assist their wider participation in the international socialist division of labour.

In line with the resolutions of the CMEA member-countries' Summit Economic Conference our country and its competent bodies are enlivening their activities on realizing the decisions of the Conference and the Organizational Measures stemming from them which were adopted at the 38th (extraordinary) Session of the Council aimed at the most effective use of assistance rendered by the fraternal countries to accelerate development and raise the effectiveness of our economy. This activity in the long run will promote realization of the tasks set by the

Communist Party of Vietnam before the people at the initial transitional stage to socialism and Vietnam's wider participation in the international socialist division of labour. Last year at its meeting the Executive Committee of the Council took a decision to consider in the near future the measures assuring Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia's wider participation in the international socialist division of labour. Along with the principled provisions applied earlier to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia envisaged in the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration the new measures will undoubtedly help achieve new gains in developing the economies of these three countries. This is a vivid example of socialist internationalism in practice and reflects the constant concern evinced by the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-countries in the less industrially developed countries of the community.

Vietnam's Communist Party follows the well known teaching of Lenin that with assistance of the advanced countries' proletariat the formerly backward countries can switch to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development. Following this teaching our Party is sure that the victory of socialism in Vietnam is inevitable since there is a powerful socialist community which has the Soviet Union as a bulwark plus the fact that, in Vietnam, one of the community countries, the people are determined to fulfil all the tasks of the socialist construction outlined by the Party.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance plays an extremely important role in organizing the implementation of the resolutions of the CMEA member-countries' Summit Economic Conference and it certainly contributes to the assistance rendered to the less developed CMEA member-countries in accelerating the development and raising the effectiveness of their economies to ensure their rapprochement and evening up of the levels of the socialist community countries' economic development. The Vietnamese people see this as one of the important tasks of the historical mission of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in its striving to raise the well-being of all its members and consolidate the positions of socialism throughout the world. In its turn the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will do its utmost

to effectively use the assistance rendered by the fraternal CMEA member-countries in constructing the new society and make a ponderous contribution to the development of socialist economic integration and all-round cooperation between the CMEA member-countries.

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CSO: 1812/298

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PROTOCOLS WITH SRV, PRK, LPDR

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 5, May 85 p 31

[Text] On January 20, 1985, in Hanoi the Soviet Union and Socialist Republic of Vietnam signed a Protocol on Trade and Payments for 1985, that envisaged a further increase in Soviet-Vietnamese trade.

This year the USSR will continue supplying Vietnam with power-generating, mining, hoisting and conveying equipment, farm and construction machinery, trucks and cars, oil products, rolled ferrous metals, fertilizers, cotton, and consumer goods besides other items.

Vietnam will ship to the Soviet Union increasing quantities of natural rubber, fresh vegetables and fruit, coffee, tea, footwear, carpets, etc.

The commitments accepted by the sides as written in the Protocol, will help solve problems facing our countries in planning their progressive economic development, more fully satisfy the personal requirements of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples, and create a sound foundation on which to further improve bilateral trade and economic cooperation

through comradely mutual assistance and mutual benefit.

The Protocol was signed: for the Soviet Union by I. T. Grishin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and for Vietnam by Le Khac, Minister of Foreign Trade.

\* \* \*

On January 24, 1985, in Phnompenh a Protocol on Trade Turnover and Payments between the USSR and People's Republic of Kampuchea for 1985 was signed which envisages increased volume of Soviet-Kampuchean trade.

The Soviet Union will continue its shipments to Kampuchea of machines and equipment, oil products, rolled ferrous metals, fabrics, medicines and other goods badly needed by Kampuchea for restoring its economy, and raising the Kampuchea's people living standards.

Kampuchea, in its turn, will ship to the USSR natural rubber, valuable species of wood, and other goods.

The Protocol was signed by I. T. Grishin, Deputy Minister of

Foreign Trade, for the Soviet Union, and by Tang Saroem, Minister of Internal and Foreign Trade, for Kampuchea.

\* \* \*

On January 27, 1985, in Vientiane the Soviet Union and the Lao People's Democratic Republic signed a Trade and Payments Protocol for 1985 providing for a further growth in Soviet-Lao trade.

The Soviet Union is to continue its shipments of goods, badly needed by Laos, such as oil products, rolled ferrous metals, paper, motor vehicles, road-construction machinery, consumer goods.

The Protocol also provides for increased deliveries to the USSR from Laos of tropical species of wood, sawn timber, coffee, etc.

The Protocol was signed: for the Soviet Union by I. T. Grishin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and for Laos by Somphadith Vorasane, Deputy Minister of Commerce.

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English translation, "Foreign Trade", 1985

CSO: 1812/298

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

BEGINNING OF MONTH OF SOLIDARITY WITH KOREA MARKED IN MOSCOW

SK020352 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 28 Jun 85

[Text] Dear listeners: The month of solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the withdrawal of the foreign forces from South Korea as well as the peaceful and democratic reunification of the country has begun in our country. The month of solidarity is observed by the decision of the World Peace Council. The month of solidarity has begun with the mass rally held yesterday at (Vladimir Ilich) electric plant in Moscow. Our station reporter reports on this:

Hundreds of workers, technicians, specialists, and office workers of the plant, members of the Soviet-Korea Friendship Society, participated in the rally. They warmly welcomed Korean guests, including the delegation of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society led by Comrade Kim Chi-ho, vice chairman of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society, Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador in Moscow, and staffers of the DPRK Embassy.

(Knyazev), secretary of the party committee of the (Vladimir Ilich) electric plant, spoke. He said: Thirty-five years ago, in June 1950, the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean reactionaries ignited the war of aggression against the DPRK. The working people of the DPRK, with the internationalist aid and support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, defeated the aggressors and defended their freedom and independence. As a result, the Armistice Agreement was concluded. This notwithstanding, durable peace has not been achieved yet in Korea. Tense confrontation is still continuing between the North and the South of Korea. The presence in South Korea of the U.S. military units, which are equipped with nuclear weapons--for example, Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles--and the antipopular policy sought by the Seoul regime obstruct the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Comrade (Knyazev) went on to say: The DPRK has, on many occasions, put forth various proposals for the normalization of the situation in Korea and for the creation of conditions for the peaceful reunification of the country. The Soviet Union highly assesses the efforts and the peace proposals which the WPK and the DPRK Government have exerted and put forth in order to preserve peace in Korea, Asia, and the world and reunify the country peacefully, without the intervention of foreign forces. The Soviet people demand that the United

States halt the acts of military provocation against the DPRK, and withdraw its troops from South Korea, along with all military equipment, including nuclear weapons. The implementation of the DPRK proposals will contribute to normalizing the situation on the Korean peninsula.

In conclusion, Secretary (Knyazev) said: We promise to the Korean friends that the (Vladimir Ilich) electric plant, along with all Soviet people, will continue to support the Korean people for the fulfillment of the cherished desire for the fatherland's reunification. We wish the fraternal Korean people new success in socialist construction, in the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth WPK Congress, and in the just struggle for the reunification of their fatherland. Long live the fraternal friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Korea!

At the rally, Comrade Kim Chi-ho, head of the delegation of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society and vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society, spoke. He said:

Dear comrades: I am very pleased with the fact that we, by visiting the fraternal Soviet Union, are marking the month of the 25 June-27 July anti-U.S. joint struggle with working class members of the friendly (Vladimir Ilich) electric plant. First of all, I would like to express deep gratitude for the fact that the Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society have marked the month of the 25 June-27 July solidarity with the Korean people in the Soviet Union, invited our delegation, and organized various functions on the occasion. Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to convey the warm comradely greetings the working class members of the 5 October automobile automation complex in Pyongyang, which maintains fraternal and friendly relations with you, and the Korean people send to the working class members of the (Vladimir Ilich) electric plant in Moscow and the fraternal Soviet people.

At the ninth plenary meeting of the Sixth WPK Central Committee, our party discussed the results of the visit to the Soviet Union by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and put forth a policy to further strengthen Korean-Soviet friendship. In addition, last September, the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee adopted a decision to observe the 40th anniversary of the 15 August liberation splendidly. Before long in our country, the echo of cheers hailing the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Korea will ring out throughout the nation, reflecting Korean-Soviet friendship, which is based on firm class relations and comradely friendship.

It is beneficial to the interests of the peoples of the two countries and to the unity and cohesion of the overall socialist forces and the international communist movement to ceaselessly develop Korean-Soviet friendship, which was sealed in blood in the flames of the arduous revolutionary struggle and has been strengthened by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. In the future, too, the Korean people, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and Korean-Soviet friendship, will continue to advance forever with the Soviet people, firmly joining hands



with them and in the same rank, and will make all efforts to strengthen and develop the friendship and unity with the Soviet people with fraternal love and trust in accordance with the decision of our party's Central Committee.

Long live the traditional, invincible, blood-sealed Korean-Soviet friendship!

The resolution which was unanimously adopted at the mass rally noted that the United States should withdraw its troops from South Korea, along with nuclear weapons and all other weapons.

CSO: 4110/200

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PRIMAKOV BOOK ON CAMP DAVID ACCORDS REVIEWED

PM280951 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 85 First Edition p 4

[A. Kislov "Bookshelf" review: "The Anatomy of a Deal"]

[Text] The new book by Academician Ye.M. Primakov, "History of a Deal" (Footnote (Ye.M. Primakov. History of a Deal. [U.S. Near East Policy in the Seventies and Early Eighties] [Istoriya Odnogo Sgovora. (Blizhnevostochnaya Politika SSHA v 70-ye-Nachale 80-kh Godov)]. Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1985) is subtitled "U.S. Near East Policy in the Seventies and Early Eighties." It is a study based both on an in-depth analysis of all that has been published on the question at home and abroad and on the author's personal impressions of visits to the Near East and the United States. The monograph is packed with facts, historical information, and striking political portraits of prominent statesmen and public figures who have had a major influence on the development of events in the region.

But there is one question in it on which the whole narrative hinges. It is the Camp David deal, implemented under U.S. auspices, its genesis and results. The United States began preparations for the separate deal between Egypt and Israel straight after Egyptian President J. 'A. al-Nasir's death. The changes that took place in the country after that outstanding figure quit the political arena resulted in its being drawn into a deal which had very adverse consequences for the Arab world and for the Near East situation. In taking this action the United States was pursuing far-reaching goals which are discussed in detail in the book.

The comprehensive examination of the Camp David process is particularly topical at a time when the Reagan administration is again actively obstructing an all-embracing and just Near East settlement, is seeking to water down the Palestinian problem, and is persistently trying to compel the other Arab countries to take the path of separate deals with Israel.

The author provides a realistic picture of imperialism's intrigues in the region which are usually masked by U.S. politicians' hypocritical arguments about the "U.S. desire for peace and security."

The book will certainly interest specialists dealing with the problems of U.S. foreign policy and the situation in the Near East and the widest possible range of readers.

CSO: 1807/395

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PRIMAKOV DEPLORES CONSEQUENCES OF CAMP DAVID, PLO SPLIT

PM101141 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English 7 Jul 85 p 5

/Interview with USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies Director Yevgeniy Primakov by Boris Paltusov: "Camp David Echo"; place and date not given/

/Text/ The Camp David deal says Yevgeniy Primakov, "is a glowing example of an American approach to solving the Middle East problem, an approach consisting in signing separate, disjointed deals in the region. The deal in question is aimed at disuniting the Arab world, at dismantling the common Arab front opposing Israel's expansionism.

The Camp David agreements were expressly aimed at eliminating Egypt from the efforts to end the consequences of the 1967 Israeli aggression, a militarily strong and the most populous Arab country of great economic potentials. And after al-Sadat had put his signature to the separate agreement between Egypt and Israel, Israel enhanced its expansionist trend in its entire policy.

A separate deal model had been from the very start part of the Camp David deal and later of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and of the "Reagan initiative." It is no accident that the Camp David deals were followed by events that ran counter to the widely publicized U.S. assurances of "detente," "pacification," and "the peace process" in the Middle East.

Paltusov: What really happened?

Primakov: Following the Camp David deals, the Knesset passed decisions lifting all restrictions in setting up Israeli settlements in the Arab lands occupied in 1967.

Following the Camp David deals, Israel came up with its final refusal to agree to the setting up of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip and to conducting talks with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by all the Arab countries and by most of the other states in the world.

Following the Camp David deals, the Knesset, contrary to UN resolutions, international law and world public opinion, passed a "legislation" on sitting

Israel's "capital for all times" in "undivided" Jerusalem, which meant legalizing the capture by Israel of the eastern part of this city in 1967.

Following the Camp David deals, Israel violated all norms of international law when it struck at the nuclear reactor under construction for peaceful purposes near Baghdad.

Following the Camp David deals, the Knesset passed a decision on extending Israeli jurisdiction on the Golan Heights, which was tantamount to the annexation of this Syrian territory.

Lastly, following the Camp David deals, Israel launched the savage aggression on Lebanon.

Paltusov: President Carter was the "godfather" of Camp David deals. Did anything change in the U.S. Middle East policy after Ronald Reagan took office?

Primakov: Firstly, the Reagan administration tried to postpone the solution of all the most burning issues which were unacceptable to Israel. For example, one such issue was, and is, the Palestinian issue without whose settlement stabilization of the situation in the Middle East is inconceivable. Washington tried as it were to say to the Arab states involved in the conflict with Israel, let's put the situation on ice and leave everything till "better times," since Israel, whom the Arabs allegedly would not be able to lick anyway, because of U.S. help, would not accept "difficult" issues and would not seek solutions to them. In the process, the Reagan administration was out to make the Arabs become reconciled to the situation where the aftermath of the 1967 Israeli aggression remained.

Secondly, the Reagan administration was accompanying, more frankly than under Carter, its political activity in the Middle East with steps to increase the American military presence in the region. Ignoring the United Nations, the United States not only constantly kept its troops in the Sinai but also moved them into Lebanon.

Thirdly, "hunting for bases" has been sharply stepped up under Reagan. Overtures were made to the leaders of Egypt, Somalia, the Sudan, Oman and Saudi Arabia sometimes without positive results. Sometimes they resulted in agreements on the constant right for U.S. naval vessels to call at the ports of some of these countries. Sometimes Washington negotiated the setting up of "storage facilities," without flying the American flag, for U.S. arms, ammunition that could be used if necessary by the "rapid deployment force." Sometimes the United States succeeded in getting bases in a "classical," form. In all instances Washington's intention was to create a military strategic system in the Middle East.

The crowning achievement for the Reagan administration in widening the Middle East conflict was the signing of the American-Israeli agreement on "strategic cooperation." It called for the setting up of an American-Israeli military commission on holding military maneuvers, and building up stocks of American weapons and ammunition in Israel (judging by everything to inject them into

the Israeli military machine in case of a war with the Arab states). Thus all talk of "unbiased" and "balanced" approach that disguised the U.S. Middle East policy in the 1970's and the early 1980's was finally abandoned. The "strategic cooperation" agreement marked the climax of the process of the United States' hardened approach to political settlement problems in the region.

Paltusov: What was the objective of launching the "Reagan initiative"?

Primakov: The Camp David process, as the U.S. leaders believed, was not to be limited to signing a separate Egyptian-Israeli agreement. It called for the reaching of a whole system of separate agreements through a steady involvement in them of different Arab states. However, on this score the Camp David initiators failed. In these conditions, the "Reagan initiative" proposed in September 1982 was intended to galvanize the process started at Camp David.

Besides, Reagan's "initiative" was advanced as an American alternative of sorts to the pan-Arabic plan passed at Fez, containing the following proposals:

Renunciation of the setting up of an independent Palestinian state. In other words, it would mean denying Palestinians their inalienable right to self-determination.

Palestinian "self-rule" on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip under certain forms of their association with Jordan.

Setting up no new Israeli settlements in these territories. Nothing was said about eliminating the settlements that are already there and whose number has exceeded 100. What is perhaps especially important, no measures were envisaged to combat the continuing process of Israelis becoming owners of land on the occupied territories.

The "Reagan plan" was intended as a counterbalance to the collective Arab construction approach to tackling the Middle East crisis. The "plan" was aimed at dividing the Arabs on the settlement issues, at preventing them from making use of the common stand they had achieved for the first time.

Paltusov: American officials allege that there were and are no conditions in the Middle East for a comprehensive settlement, which is why, they maintain, one has to move along the way of partial decisions which unavoidably become separate in their character. They charge Moscow with "ignoring" stage-by-stage measures, with wanting "all-or-nothing." Is this so?

Primakov: Such "arguments" and charges are out of keeping with reality. Firstly, the Soviet Union maintains that there should be a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict and it has never opposed a stage-by-stage approach if it is finally aimed at reaching this goal. But the implementation of these decisions in stages, of course, relies on whether they fit in the fairway towards full settlement. If this fairway has been defined, if what is implied as the main goal is the elimination of the aftermath of the 1967 Israeli aggression, then one could move towards this goal stage by stage. The United States, however, has countered this method by partial, isolated, separate decisions.

Secondly, the Soviet Union has always proceeded from the assumption that partial decisions, far from bringing a comprehensive settlement, delay it. While Israel is in opposition with not just one but many Arab countries and the PLO as well, partial, separate deals delay a comprehensive settlement. Separate deals, at least, weaken sides opposing Israel and they also weaken Israel's motivations for a comprehensive settlement, decreasing the factors working towards a comprehensive and just settlement.

Thirdly, there is a real possibility for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict in the interests of all the peoples in the region. Proceeding from this, the Soviet Union put forward a specific program of such a settlement last year.

The U.S. policy of urging Israel to move towards an extremist position has always been in the way of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict. Washington's support of Israel's expansionist course in Lebanon, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, as regards the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, lowers the chances for a comprehensive settlement and makes it difficult to achieve through political means.

Paltusov: It is often said in Washington that putting pressure on Israel is "counterproductive," moreover, it calls forth "reverse consequences."

Primakov: This is speculative reasoning. The United States simply does not bring any pressure to bear on Israel to renounce weapon supplies or economic aid. In the meantime, the Israeli leaders fully rely in their expansion and extremism on American assistance. How can one speak in this context about it being "counterproductive" to bring pressure to bear on Israel to make it abide by UN resolutions and eliminate the aftermath of the aggression it has already committed?

Paltusov: What impact can the present differences within the PLO make on the activity of the Palestinian resistance movement and on development in the region, and what lies at the base of these differences?

Primakov: Much can be said about the causes of these differences whose catalyst consisted in the developments in Lebanon. One should bear in mind that they have a multiple nature. They also include differences between the Palestinians, and differences between the Arabs and the Palestinians which go beyond the framework of internal relations in the Palestinian resistance movement. Opposition-minded Palestinians have voiced criticism saying that the chairman of the PLO executive committee, Yasir 'Arafat, has taken some wide-ranging political decisions singlehandedly.

A split within the PLO, of course, can bring irreparable damage to the struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate rights. Obviously, at this stage of the Palestinian struggle the sharp differences prevailing in the Palestinian movement which disrupt a single front of the different political forces--in fact, the PLO is this front--are highly undesirable. It is the combination of the different political forces and ideological views inside the PLO that made this organization acceptable for all the Arab countries with

different regimes. A split, without a doubt, would also affect the growth of the PLO's international prestige.

On the strength of discussions with leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement and with Arab statesmen regarding what is going on inside the Palestinian movement, one can conclude, as I see it, that healthy forces within the Palestinian movement, and in the Arab world as a whole, for that matter, realize the need for retaining PLO unity on the basis of the anti-imperialist national patriotic course. For this task to be accomplished it would take, of course, a rebuff to the capitulatory tendencies and plans aimed at changing the anti-imperialist orientation of the PLO, and a rebuff to the attempts to undermine its status as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian movement and the PLO must remain strong and independent. Only the clearcut anti-imperialist nature of the PLO and the Palestinian resistance movement as a whole can ensure the safeguarding by them of the vital interests of the Palestinian people. Amidst the differences inside the PLO, the Soviet Union continues to exert all its influence to stem tendencies leading to a split in this organization. The strength of the Palestinian movement--it can be said with all certainty--largely depends on settling these differences and on concerted action together with Syria which is in the forefront of the struggle against Israeli expansionism and American imperial pressure. One more thing should be emphasized; the differences in the Palestinian movement must never be used as a pretext for refusing to try and settle the Palestinian problem.

CSO: 1812/296

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

MOSCOW ON GEOLOGICAL COOPERATION WITH IRAN

NC121207 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 11 Jun 85

/Unattributed commentary/

/Text/ The Iranian Press has pointed out the necessity of expanding the raw material base for current and future industrial units in order for Iran's long-term industrialization programs to be realized. With regard to this, it is useful to recall the experience of Soviet-Iranian cooperation in supplying raw materials to the Esfahan steel mill. As soon as Iranian-Soviet cooperation began to build Iran's steel plant, Soviet organizations started extensive activities to create geological units, the products of which are vitally important for the operation of the steel industry. We are referring to coal and iron ore and to pig iron furnaces and mines.

Throughout almost 20 years of Soviet-Iranian cooperation in the sphere of geology, regions and areas have been found which contain many of the minerals needed for the Esfahan steel mill. Today, we can say confidently that the Iranian steel industry will have its supply of necessary raw materials for many years to come. For example, experts say there are tens of billions of coal deposits and hundreds of millions of tons of iron ore and manganese deposits. However, a large part of this subterranean wealth is still in the preliminary stages of research. The necessary efforts should be made to successfully tap these resources.

In order to meet the increasing demands of the Iranian steel industry in the future for iron ore and coal, prospecting and exploiting mines in Bafq and Golgozar in eastern Tabas and the Alborz center, should be expanded. Through the advice and help of Soviet experts, a network of geological prospecting organizations and chemical laboratories has been created throughout Iran. New methods are being used to study reserves as metallurgical raw materials for the Esfahan steel mill.

You are well aware that the creation of metallurgical units, such as coal mines and pig iron furnaces, is usually impossible without water resources. Three large pools of subterranean water resources have recently been discovered in the Tabas region. Sweet water wells have been found in the Golgozar area. This has completely refuted past theories on the lack of water resources in this immense, ore-rich area. Soviet and Iranian experts have found sweet water



wells in Sangrud, (Karsanak, Kiaseh, and Karmu). By exploiting these wells, the water needed for pig iron furnaces and mines will be ensured.

The long-lasting, special feature of our cooperation is that Soviet experts willingly place their knowledge at the disposal of Iranian experts. Throughout the era of joint cooperation in the sphere of geology, national cadres and outstanding experts have been trained for Iran with the help of Soviet experts.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

HISTORY, CURRENT SITUATION OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR SURVEYED

AU271020 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 6, Jun 85 (signed to press 21 May 85) pp 112-114

/Article by V. Nikolayev: "Who Profits From It? (On the Iran-Iraq Conflict)"

/Text/ In the contemporary world there still exist a considerable number of hotbeds of tension, large and small, regional and local, where the use of weapons and force is resorted to with a view to resolving disputes. Few can compare with the Iran-Iraq conflict, especially from the point of view of its harshness and destructiveness, the level and scale of the use of contemporary weapons of war, and the enormous masses of people sent onto the battlefield.

The Iran-Iraq war flared up in autumn 1980, when tension between the two countries reached its maximum intensity and spilled over into stubborn battles, which were conducted in the beginning on Iranian territory. Soon, however, the Iranian troops gained the initiative, resuming their positions and advancing to the line of the state border between the two countries. Since the middle of 1982, combat operations have been conducted largely along the border line, on a front stretching over more than 1,000 km, later spreading also to the northern part of the Persian Gulf, where oil installations and seagoing vessels are the targets of attack.

In the years since it began, the war has taken different forms and a different character, from large-scale operations involving hundreds of thousands of combatants on both sides to lengthy lulls on the fronts, alternating with small exchanges of fire and skirmishes. At one time, when tankers transporting oil from Iran and some other countries of this region were set on fire by missiles and began to burn one after the other in the Persian Gulf, it acquired the name of "tanker" war. It is now called the war "of cities," since the fighting countries have departed from the agreement on the renunciation of attacks on civilian targets, which they reached with the assistance of the UN secretary general on 12 June 1984, and have begun inflicting massive bomb, missile, and artillery strikes on populated localities. Among these are Theran, Abadan, Ahvaz, Isfahan and Dezful on Iranian territory, and Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, Mandali, and Khanaqin on Iraqi territory. The result has been the destruction of industrial enterprises and residential areas, numerous victims among the peaceful population, and panic and terror because of the regularly announced air-raid alarms.

The situation has been made even more critical by the offensive conducted by Iranian troops north of Basra in March this year. In the course of that offensive, Iranian subunits attempted to advance to the strategic road that connects this second largest Iraqi city with Baghdad, and thus to cut the south of the country off from the rest of Iraq. In separate sectors of the front the Iranians were able to make a forced crossing of the Tigris and advance 10 to 15 km inside Iraqi territory. However, with no air cover, the advancing unit soon ran out of steam and began to retreat, suffering great losses. In order to conclude their rout, the Iraqis mainly used the superiority of their air force. According to reports by Western news agencies, they flew up to 600 or 700 aircraft sorties a day. The list of war victims was enlarged by several more tens of thousands of killed and wounded on both sides.

As Iranian official figures state, preparations for new offensive operations will continue, and to this end wide-scale mobilization measures are being carried out in Iran, including regular conscription of young people and volunteers into the army and the corps of "Islamic Revolutionary Guards," and replenishment of military-technological stocks and of arms. Intensive propagandist processing of the population, the aim of which is to prepare the Iranians for new sacrifices and for continuation of the war "until its victorious end" has been developed in the country. As S. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran's permanent representative at the United Nations, announced, "Iran considers its aim to be to overthrow the present regime in Baghdad and does not intend to renounce it."

Neither side accepts responsibility for the violation of the agreement of 12 June 1984 and for resumption of the bombardment of populated localities, which initiated the present phase of exacerbation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Iraq asserts that such actions on its part are retaliatory. At the same time it does not conceal the fact that they are brought about by the desire to impel Theran, "whatever the cost," to halt the war as such, and to bring it to the necessity of entertaining ideas of peace negotiations. In the words of President S. Husayn, Iraq wants "to be able to live freely on its own land within its international borders, and want Iran to live freely on its own land within its borders and in accordance with its choice...and wants Iran and Iraq to play a positive role in the task of ensuring peace and stability in the region."

Expounding the position of his leadership on these issues, the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs, T. 'Aziz, enumerated the following measures in a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council which must be adopted first and foremost: a ceasefire and cessation of all military operations; a withdrawal of troops to within internationally recognized boundaries; the establishment of direct contact by the UN Secretary General and the Security Council with both sides in order to assist the implementation of the aforementioned measures; and the entering into negotiations by the sides with the aim of reaching a comprehensive and just settlement.

Given such a complex approach to the conflict, the Iraqi side would not object to the consideration of all other proposals, in particular, "relating to refraining from attacks on centers in which an exclusively civilian population is concentrated and to exchanging prisoners of war." In this connection the

central Baghdad newspaper AL-SQWRAH wrote that Iraq "will not accept any partial solutions.... Let there be either a comprehensive, full, and just settlement or war in all forms."

In contrast to this position Iran continues to insist on the adoption of the formula of "a graduated cessation of military operations," that is, primarily on reaching agreement on mutually refraining from attacks on towns and economic objectives, as well as on vessels and oil installations in the Persian Gulf. However, the Iranian side does not link an agreement of this kind with steps leading to ending the war, but continues to make its former claims on Iraq, the chief of which is "punishment of the guilty for aggression."

Despite its negative attitude toward ending the war as long as these claims remain unsatisfied, at the same time the Iranian leadership agreed to receive UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in Tehran in April of this year within the framework of UN efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The secretary general also visited Oaghdad. The results of his visit were more than modest. As de Cuellar himself admits, the positions of the sides today are "just as far apart as before." He also noted that both Iraq and Iran said that "they desire peace and wish me to continue my efforts." In international political circles this statement is regarded as evidence that intermediary channels of communication between Iraq and Iran still exist and could be renewed in the future.

At the end of April the UN Security Council once again returned to examination of the problems connected with the Iran-Iraq conflict. The statement adopted on the basis of the results of the discussion and in the name of its chairman contained a condemnation of the violations of the norms of international humanitarian law applicable to armed conflicts, and also an appeal for a cessation of military operations. The members of the UN Security Council expressed the belief that a "rapid, comprehensive, just, and worthy settlement acceptable to both sides is essential and in the interests of international peace and security."

Appeals to the warring sides to cease the shelling of civilians targets and towns, stop the fighting, and put an end to the tragic bloodshed are today made by all to whose the cause of peace is dear and who are not indifferent to the tragic events taking place in this region. In talks with the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs, T. 'Aziz, and the deputy Iranian minister of foreign affairs, Kh. Kazempur-Ardebili /spelling as transliterated/ which were held in Moscow in March-April this year, A. A. Gromyko once again confirmed the Soviet Union's principled policy in favor of an end to the war between Iraq and Iran as soon as possible, which would be in the interests of both peoples, and also in the broad interests of international security. There are not disputes which could not be settled at the negotiations table, especially when it is a question of the vital issues of war and peace, on a solution to which the life and wellbeing not only of the present, but also of future generations of the peoples of Iraq and Iran depend.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that a continuation of the war is advantageous only to those who warm their hands on people's suffering and sacrifice, and who are interested in further increasing tension and creating conditions

for their own interference in the internal affairs of states in this region. Facts show that the more tense the situation in connection with development of the Iran-Iraq conflicts, the easier it is for the forces of imperialism to invent pretexts for such interference and for increasing their military-political activeness in this region. They utilize the continuing internecine strife to introduce and deepen dissent between the Arab countries, some of which support Iraq and some--Iran, and also to thereby facilitate their expansion throughout the whole region of the Middle East and the advancement of separate plans for a Middle East settlement.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

USSR-ETHIOPIA: ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 6, May 85 pp 30-32

[Article by Yuri Makeyev, executive secretary of the Soviet part of the USSR-Ethiopia Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Trade: "USSR-Ethiopia: Economic and Technical Cooperation"]

[Text]

For many years economic and technical cooperation has played a great role in developing USSR-Ethiopia trade and economic ties.

The first agreement on economic cooperation was signed in 1959. A polytechnical school in Bahr-Dar constructed in 1963 and presented as a gift from the Soviet Union to the Ethiopian people was the first project of the Soviet-Ethiopian economic and technical cooperation. In 1964 the polytechnical school was upgraded into a polytechnical institute. It has trained, with Soviet instructors' assistance, over 2,000 specialists in the metal-working and woodworking spheres, in textile production, industrial chemistry and electrical engineering.

The construction of the Assab petroleum refinery was a great contribution to the development of Ethiopia's economy. This refinery was put into operation in 1967 and since then it has been meeting the country's demands for petroleum products.

After the Revolution of 1974 the USSR-Ethiopia relations entered a qualitatively new stage. The economic principles formulated by Ethiopia's Provisional Military Government envisaged further development of the country's state-controlled economy, planned expansion of industry and intensification of agriculture in the interests of the whole community.

The Soviet Union renders Ethiopia fraternal assistance in accomplishing these difficult economic tasks.

Fruitful relations between the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia are based on the stable foundation of

the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation signed by the two countries in November 1978. This document is of overriding importance for the development of Soviet-Ethiopian economic ties. Article 8 of the Treaty states that the sides will expand and deepen cooperation and exchange "know-how" in the economy, trade and science on principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Over recent years the USSR and Ethiopia have signed over 50 agreements and other intergovernmental documents on specific matters of cooperation in the economy. Today hardly an economic sector exists in Ethiopia in which our countries do not cooperate.

With the Soviet Union's assistance Ethiopia's key economic sectors are developing, among them: power engineering, mineral prospecting and development of the country's natural resources, the petroleum refining industry, agriculture, and training of national specialists. Over the last decade the volume of the USSR's technical assistance rendered to Ethiopia grew more than 4.5 times while complete equipment export during the last five years alone increased 18 times.

The USSR and Socialist Ethiopia's economic and technical cooperation is characterized by a comprehensive approach to the resolving of economic, technical and financial problems which has made it possible to fulfil Socialist Ethiopia's most important socio-economic development tasks by stages with due regard for the country's real capabilities.

Thus, taking into account Ethiopia's ever increasing demands for the construction of projects (including Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation projects) the Soviet Union is helping Ethiopian construction organizations to augment their capacities and is assisting them to build a large cement factory in Dire Dawa. Simultaneously, national specialists of various grades are being trained. For this purpose six vocational schools are being equipped with Soviet teaching facilities and Soviet instructors sent to them. Soviet teachers and lecturers work also in Ethiopia's secondary schools and higher educational establishments.

The country's accelerated economic development growth rates and, hence, greater power consumption has caused a shortage of power-engineering capacities. That is why the construction of the Melka-Wakana hydro-electric power station with Soviet eco-

conomic and technical assistance, which will increase the country's hydropower capacities 1.5 times, is of special significance.

Ethiopia has great possibilities for developing its hydropower engineering. The country takes second place in Africa in hydraulic power resources although they are used insignificantly. The country's demand for electric power will grow and this explains the need to develop the available hydraulic resources.

The Soviet Union's assistance in reconstructing a petroleum-refining factory bringing its capacity up to one million tons of crude oil refining per year and in constructing ten oil tank farms (total capacity up to 65,000 cubic metres) four of which have already been put into use, will promote the solution of fuel and power problems.

The Soviet Union's participation in studying and developing the country's mineral and raw material base has an important place in Soviet-Ethiopian economic and technical cooperation. Prospecting for oil and gas is under way while that for solid minerals is being carried out in the Adola region.

The signing of a Long-Term Programme of Economic Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia, September 1984, putting the two countries' economic relations on a planned basis, was a new step in developing our countries' close friendly ties and all-round cooperation.

The main long-term cooperation spheres are agriculture and the processing of its produce, mechanical engineering, power engineering, geological prospecting, the mining, construction and chemical industries and training of Ethiopia's nationals.

It is not without reason that agriculture heads this list. Ethiopia has great possibilities for developing this economic sector. Favourable natural conditions and numerous population in rural regions enable it in principle to substantially increase food production, put an end to the famines periodically occurring in certain regions, and expand the country's export potential through the production of industrial crops.

Thus the programme envisages construction of a number of projects which will promote agricultural production, the processing of its produce and mechanization of agriculture.



Realization of the Baro-Akobo valley agricultural development project where, with Soviet participation, a plain earth dam and an irrigation system for irrigating 10,000 hectares of lands are to be constructed, is of vital economic importance for developing the country's distant regions and increasing employment.

Large-scale agricultural production is planned for the river Awash valley where, for the first stage, Soviet organizations are working out technico-economical substantiation for cultivating cotton on an area of 60,000 hectares. Other technico-economical substantiations are envisaged for constructing projects that can process agricultural raw materials, among which are a textile complex and a knitting mill. The prospects of expanding the production of oil-bearing crops, of building enterprises processing them, of starting a cattle-breeding farm and connected with it meat processing enterprise are to be studied.

Mechanization is one of the indispensable prerequisites for the successful development of agriculture. A tractor assembly enterprise in Nazeret, put into operation August 18, 1984, will help accomplish this important task. This enterprise, built and equipped with the USSR's assistance, is for assembling 1,000 tractors per year from sub-assemblies and components supplied by the Minsk tractor factory. Hailu Yemenu, Ethiopia's Minister of Industry, speaking at the enterprise's opening ceremony, stressed that this enterprise laid the foundation stone for creating an up-to-date base for Ethiopia's mechanical engineering industry, and would be a school for training skilled workers. The thousand tractors which the factory will assemble annually will be sent to peasants' cooperative farms and state farms and this will really begin the planned mechanization of the country's agriculture. Hailu Yemenu pointed out that it was symbolic that the enterprise was commissioned on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the national-democratic revolution which had opened the road for broad socio-economic reorganizations in Ethiopia.

A complex of measures aimed at developing agricultural production includes also cooperation in constructing grain warehouses, refrigerating plants, workshops for repairing agricultural machinery and agricultural machinery hire depots.

It would be impossible to realize the progressive reorganizations in agriculture (90 per cent of the country's population is employed in it), planned by Socialist Ethiopia's government, or to accomplish the tasks for its intensification without using modern agro-industrial means. With this aim in view a phytopathological laboratory was set up in Ambo due to the USSR's gratuitous assistance and where Soviet and Ethiopian scientists work side by side. They are developing effective preventive measures and means for combatting plant diseases, vermin and weeds, as well as elaborating ways of introducing advanced agrotechnical methods into the agricultural production and high-yielding seeds of new types of crops. Soviet scientists participate in teaching Ethiopian specialists employed at the laboratory.

When specifying the terms of cooperation with Ethiopia the Soviet Union is fully aware of the country's economic and financial difficulties. Our countries' economic and technical cooperation is developing on favourable conditions. In particular the Soviet Union gives Ethiopia gratuitous assistance in designing irrigation schemes for lands in the Baro-Akobo region, in equipping vocational schools; expansion of the Bahr-Dar polytechnical institute is planned, etc. In many Ethiopian towns Soviet workers and engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers, builders and geologists work shoulder to shoulder with the Ethiopian colleagues. Nearly 3,000 young Ethiopians are studying at various educational establishments in the Soviet Union.

In line with the existing understandings Soviet credits can be repaid by deliveries of Ethiopia's traditional goods such as: leather raw material, coffee, sesame and other oil-bearing seeds.

The friendly character of Soviet-Ethiopian relations is fully reflected in the Soviet Government's decision to render Ethiopia assistance in eliminating catastrophic consequences of the prolonged drought which affected a number of the country's regions in 1984. Guided by principles of international solidarity the Soviet Union sent foodstuffs, tank trucks for transporting drinking water, rigs for drilling water wells for Socialist Ethiopia's population suffering from the drought. It quickly sent vehicles and their drivers,

aircraft and helicopters with crews and necessary supplies for transporting foodstuffs, medicines within the country and for evacuating people from the disaster regions.

The Intergovernmental Soviet-Ethiopian Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Trade set up in 1978 is of substantial importance for developing the two countries' trade and economic ties. Its tasks are to consider realization of agreements, study the possibilities of furthering the two countries' economic ties, prepare proposals on cooperation submitting them for consideration by the USSR's and Socialist Ethiopia's governments. Five meetings of the Commission have been held so far and each marked an important stage in the development of economic relations between the USSR and Ethiopia.

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